

VOLUME XXI

NUMBER 2

THE SOUTHERN SPEECH JOURNAL

WINTER, 1955

HUEY LONG: ORATORICAL "WEALTH SHARING".....*Elton Abernathy*

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT: PROPHET OF
RESISTANCE, 1828-1834.....*H. Hardy Perritt*

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TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

REVIEWS BY Fred J. Barton, Waldo W. Braden, Adelbert Bradley, Clarence W. Edney, Robert Jeffrey, T. Earle Johnson, George Kernodle, Edyth Renshaw, Otis M. Walter, Lester M. Wolfson, and Harold P. Zelko.

SUSTAINING MEMBERS.....NEWS AND NOTES

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The Southern Speech Journal

VOLUME XXI

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HUEY LONG: ORATORICAL "WEALTH SHARING"

ELTON ABERNATHY

I

"HUEY LONG is the best stump speaker in America." "He was the most efficient campaigner in the history of America." "He did more good, and more evil, than any man in the history of his state." "He is an able little devil." "His code in politics, morals, finance, is that of a hungry tom-cat in a back alley." "A remarkable social and political critic of the evils and misfortunes of our day." "An expert rider of chaos." "Neither saint nor devil, he was a complex and heterogeneous mixture of good and bad, genius and craft, hypocrisy and candor, buffoonery and seriousness." "Just a little boy at heart."¹

So run a handful of the hundreds of evaluations of Huey Pierce Long, one of the most colorful performers ever to tread the American political stage. He made hosts of friends and hordes of enemies. Two different justices of the United States Supreme Court called him one of the ablest lawyers ever to plead before that august body. Capable political scientists have judged that he would have been president by 1936 or 1940, had he lived. Yet in sworn statements he was publicly called crook, thief, drunkard, liar, kidnapper, black-mailer, and dangerous paranoiac. He inspired the song "Inspiration" by L. H. Poole and George C. Stout, the Huey Long Cigar, and the "Governor Long March," composed by the L.S.U. bandmaster.

Although no single factor can explain the meteoric rise of Huey Long from an unknown country boy to the public figure who shook the foundation stones of America's political parties, it is certain that

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¹Raymond Gram Swing, *Forerunners of American Fascism* (New York, 1935), p. 92; Carleton Beals, *The Story of Huey P. Long* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 13, 141, 411; Hugh Johnson, as quoted in *Christian Century*, April 3, 1935; *Real America*, July, 1933; *Nation*, September 24, 1935; Thomas O. Harris, *The Kingfish: Huey P. Long, Dictator* (New Orleans, 1938), p. 4.

his speaking ability played a significant part. He came from obscurity to the governor's chair by his stump speaking. When it seemed he was certain to be impeached, he combined a speaking tour of the hustings with shrewd political maneuvering to forestall this action. When he rose to speak in the United States Senate the galleries were packed. Radio networks came to his door to give him priceless time to spread his economic philosophy to the whole people. To an even greater extent, perhaps, than Franklin Roosevelt or Hitler, Long found that public speaking was his greatest weapon.

Unfortunately, materials about Long's speaking are less numerous than those about other activities of his life. His early speeches were extemporaneous and unreported; and while most of the later stump speeches were reported, they were only rarely transcribed. His Senate speeches are, of course, available in the *Congressional Record*, but the famous radio addresses are hard to find. For the most part, newspaper reports of his speeches are marked by bias rather than information.²

II

To understand the rise of Huey Long it is necessary to understand Louisiana — its land, its people, its government. De Soto discovered the great river that divides it, and La Salle claimed the country for France. To France it belonged, and French it became. The people violently opposed its secret cession to Spain in 1764. Back to France it went in 1800, and to America in 1803.

Perhaps no state has been so divided as Louisiana. In the southern half, aristocratic Creole planters drank mint juleps among the splendor of moss-hung live oaks around their plantations. Their way of life was supported by poverty-stricken Acadian French (later called Cajuns), Italians, Irish, Middle Europeans, and Negroes. Both aristocrat and peasant were Catholic, tolerant, easy-going. Crabs, muskrats, sugar, and rice were the basis of their economy.

North Louisiana was a land of red clay hills, covered with scrub pine and populated by Protestant, penniless, usually ignorant, An-

²Witness, for example, these two reports of the same speech, delivered before the Community Club of Baton Rouge: "... one of the largest overflow gatherings in the history of the . . . city. . . . [He was] greeted with a crescendo of approval." *Louisiana Progress*, April 17, 1930; "... drew down only the slightest applause. The audience was perhaps the smallest Huey Long ever addressed in the Community Club." *Morning Tribune*, April 15, 1930.

glo-Saxon "rednecks." Between the two sections there were no bonds except the poverty of the masses and the lack of popular education.

Politics in Louisiana were traditionally "safe" and conservative, though the northern half of the state embraced Populism and Socialism on a local level. The government was a disguised dictatorship by the so-called "better people" — planters, industrialists, semifeudal masters. With the highest illiteracy rate in the nation and heavy disenfranchisement, it was easy to rig elections to keep the downtrodden from representation. Not only was it a government of conservative aristocracy, but usually of mountainous graft and corruption, as well. Said Hartnett Kane, "From its start Louisiana has been a land of great wealth, great men, and great thieves."³ The evil alignment of Northern capital, absentee ownership, Southern Bourbon aristocracy, and big-city gangsterism held sway in both state and city governments. As the *Christian Century* magazine pointed out in 1935:

It is impossible to understand the rise of Huey Long to power in Louisiana without seeing him, not as a mere political adventurer, but as a leader in the revolt of the poor against the power of the planter oligarchy which had ruled the state since long before the Civil War. . . . The Long dictatorship over Louisiana resulted in . . . a political regime which outraged believers in democracy, but which was regarded by the common people of Louisiana as a scourge to drive an entrenched aristocracy out of the seats of power and to begin, at last, spreading the benefits of power among the poor. . . .⁴

The governors who preceded Long had, for the most part, come from the wealthy families. Their decisions were conservative, "safe," and in the interests of their own class. At the bottom of the economic heap were the masses of "rednecks" and "Cajuns." Their roads were mud, their hospitals meagre, their schools miserable. Depression, mortgages, poverty — these they lived with.

III

Huey P. Long, Jr. was the eighth of ten children born to Huey P. Long, Sr., and Caledonia Tison. His ancestors had lived in Winn Parish in the heart of North Louisiana for nearly a hundred years. Many people in that section embraced outright Socialism

³Hartnett Kane, *Louisiana Hayride* (New York, 1951), p. 13.

⁴"Huey Long," *Christian Century*, September 18, 1935, pp. 116-18.

in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁵ They were of the poor white class, which emerged after the Civil War had diminished the plantations. These poor whites called for a two-party system, and supported the Republicans, William Jennings Bryan, and Eugene V. Debs, in succession. At one time at least half of the elected officers of Winn Parish called themselves Socialists.⁶ As Kane reported, "Winn Parish produced only one crop in abundance — dissent."⁷

Huey's father was somewhat better off than his neighbors because the railroad had bought part of his land; yet he shared their feelings. He was quoted as saying, "My father and mother . . . didn't have slaves. They didn't even have decent land. The rich folks had all the good land and all the slaves — why their women didn't even comb their own hair. They'd sooner speak to a nigger than a pore white. . . . Why shouldn't Huey take money away from the rich? . . . There wants to be a revolution, I tell you. I seen this domination of capital, seen it for seventy years."⁸

Huey was a smart and enterprising boy. He hated farm work, but early became a leader.⁹ At ten he ran away from home. At thirteen he was a "printer's devil"; at fourteen, an auctioneer. A short time later he went on the road, selling, first, books, then kitchen supplies. He made it a point to spend each night in a farm home, and to pay for his room and meal. He had an enormous list of country friends with whom he kept up correspondence.

Politics came early to Huey. While still a schoolboy he helped an older friend get elected to a parish office. He organized a political club in high school, and kept dissenters off the basketball and debating teams.¹⁰ He placed third in a state debate contest and won a scholarship to L.S.U.¹¹

Huey married when he was nineteen.¹² His wife urged him to go to the Tulane law school. This he did, and crammed the three-year course into one year. He induced the Louisiana Supreme

⁵Kane, *Hayride*, p. 34.

⁶Beals, p. 19.

⁷Kane, *Hayride*, p. 36.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹James Rorty, "Callie Long's Boy Huey," *Forum and Century*, XCIV (1935), 127.

¹⁰Kane, *Hayride*, p. 39.

¹¹Huey P. Long, *Every Man A King* (New Orleans, 1933), p. 7.

¹²Hodding Carter, "Huey Long's Louisiana Hayride," *American Mercury*, LXVIII (1949), 437.

Court to give him a special examination, passed it, and returned to Winnfield to open a law office with his brother Julius. He specialized in workmen's compensation, and became widely known as a "poor man's champion."¹³

In his autobiography, *Every Man A King*, Huey reports he found by careful perusal of the state constitution that only the office of railroad commissioner had no minimum age limit.¹⁴ In the summer of 1918, at the age of twenty-four, he entered the race for this office. His wife, family, and friends mailed out literature, and he set out to visit all the out-of-the-way places in North Louisiana.¹⁵ He avoided the traveled ways, and worked far into the night calling on those who lived in swamp and forest. In the first primary he ran two thousand votes behind; but he won the nomination — and, of course, the election in Democratic Louisiana — in the runoff. Just after he turned twenty-five he took office.¹⁶

For the first time people found out Louisiana had a Railroad Commission, even if it was hard to remember that there was more than one member. Those who read newspapers saw Huey's name in the headlines almost every day. On others he rained circulars on every conceivable subject. One of his first points of attack was Standard Oil and the other large companies. Huey owned considerable stock in a successful small oil company which had been frozen out by Standard's refusal to transport independent oil through their pipelines. By a combination of political campaigns, legislative acts, and court decisions Long got the pipelines declared common carriers and placed under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission. Other activities of his ten years on the Commission are shrouded in controversy. His enemies conceded that he secured a reduction in telephone rates,¹⁷ but when he boasted of saving money for the people by getting lower electric rates they retaliated by pointing out that he had, at the same time, granted a large increase in gas rates. By an odd coincidence, Southwestern Gas and Electric Company sold both services, and, according to claim, later made a \$10,000 contribution to Huey's 1924 campaign for governor.¹⁸

¹³*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Long, Huey."

¹⁴Long, p. 39.

¹⁵*New Republic*, November 11, 1939.

¹⁶Kane, *Hayride*, p. 46.

¹⁷Baton Rouge *State Times*, November 23, 1922.

¹⁸Rorty, p. 77.

By adroit manipulating, Long made Governor Parker's friends angry enough to impeach him. They might have succeeded had not Huey suggested that all the commissioners resign and stand for re-election. This split his opponents because some thought he would be the only one re-elected.

In 1924 Huey ran for governor, and lost the only election of his career. Heavy rains kept the country people at home, and he finished three thousand votes behind. He was, however, re-elected to the Railroad Commission, and two years later made political history by selling Edwin Broussard, a Creole Catholic, to Protestant North Louisiana and securing his election to the United States Senate. The issue, oddly enough, was free versus toll bridges. Years later, as governor, Huey abolished the tolls.

From 1924 on, he built political fences so skilfully that the 1928 gubernatorial race was almost anti-climatic. He promised free textbooks, paved roads, and free bridges. His opponents never had a chance. At thirty-five Huey was governor.

IV

It is altogether probable that no state ever experienced a more turbulent administration than did Louisiana between 1928 and 1932. No man who lived then will ever forget, and the passions aroused yet survive.

First, look at the credit side. When he ran for governor Huey promised free textbooks, free bridges, and paved highways. Immediately after the election he began to deliver. Free ferries operated alongside the toll bridges enabled the state to buy these spans, and competent engineering plus adequate appropriations produced fine modern bridges across the Mississippi at New Orleans, and the Red at Shreveport and Alexandria. Careful sidestepping of religious differences and the ruthless crushing of hidebound Bourbon arrogance (Huey—"I stomped 'um") resulted in free textbooks for the children. At the same time, greatly increased tax levies produced the revenue for paved highways. In 1928 Louisiana had only sixty-two miles of paved roads. Huey increased this by thousands.¹⁹

Likewise on the credit side, Long built hospitals, modernized eleemosynary institutions, and gave the schools sufficient money for a guaranteed eight-month term, even in the rural parishes. The

¹⁹Bogalusa *News*, December 26, 1930.

magnitude of these reforms cannot be appreciated unless it is remembered that Louisiana had been the most backward of all the states. Public improvements had been niggardly in previous administrations, and literally, as well as figuratively, the state was "in the mud." Huey shifted a large part of the weight of taxation from the poor to the rich. He increased the bonded indebtedness of the state but gave solid public works improvements in return. A severe critic, Raymond Gram Swing, admitted that "taken all in all, I do not know any man who has accomplished so much that I approve of in one state in four years. . . ."²⁰

In education also Long pushed Louisiana forward. His free textbooks added about fifteen thousand children to the school rolls. In addition, he led in the elimination of adult illiteracy. In one year over a hundred thousand Negroes and whites learned to read. He got the poll tax repealed, Louisiana being the first Southern state to take this action.

What, then, of the debit side of the ledger? In justice, it must be said that Huey's opponents were themselves responsible for much that they criticized. Perhaps no one ever fought a more solidly entrenched, ruthless opposition. Great corporations, wealthy socialites, and politicians long accustomed to feeding at the public trough waged vicious rear-guard actions against every reform. Huey, in turn, fought fire with fire. When appointees on public boards turned against him he fired them, and required undated letters of resignation from their successors. Presidents of colleges campaigned against him. To one he sneered, "You guessed wrong, didn't you?" and threw him out. To buck a recalcitrant legislature he personally appeared on the floor and fought for his bills. Tradition, sometimes well documented, indicates that he intimidated, threatened, and bribed legislators in rounding up the necessary votes. Hartnett Kane and others who have studied the records say that a man could lose a public, or even private, job because one of his relatives had offended Long.²¹

Friend and foe agreed that the governor had complete control of the state. Every policy of the state university met his approval or was changed. Business concerns were subject to new taxes or revised retroactive assessments. Local self-government — what little his predecessors had left — Huey destroyed. Sheriffs, registrars of

²⁰Swing, p. 74.

²¹Kane, *Hayride*, p. 129.

voters, teachers, the courts, even the employees of locally elected officials, were directly controlled from Baton Rouge.

On still another count Long's critics have attacked him. Despite his appeal to the laboring classes, Beals says he never encouraged enlightened labor legislation; but rather hired "scab" labor, depressed wages, and inhibited much social legislation. Louisiana rejected the Child Labor Amendment, and children in shrimp-packing plants worked for as little as six cents an hour.²²

The final, and perhaps strongest, indictment against Long concerns the integrity of the ballot. In 1930 St. Bernard Parish had a total registration of 2,454. When it went to the polls, however, the vote was 3,979 for Huey Long and nine for his opponent. Some have suggested that the muskrats were voting for Huey also.²³

It would be easy to say that public dissatisfaction with Long's administration brought about the attempt at his impeachment. But the matter is not so clear cut. The governor called a special session of the legislature, and proposed to it a tax of five cents a barrel on oil. Immediately the strength of Standard Oil was felt. Legislators who up to then had rubber-stamped every Long proposal suddenly voted to impeach him. Nineteen charges were brought, ranging from bribery to attempted murder. None, however, was so clear as the resolution passed by a Standard Oil-sponsored mass meeting:

We condemn as . . . vicious, dangerous, and utterly without merit any . . . tax, which directly or indirectly seeks to impose tax burdens on the industries within the state.²⁴

As the day for the trial approached, Long's opponents were supremely confident that his power had been broken. Like a clap of thunder came their collapse. A roundrobin statement was signed by fifteen senators to the effect that, regardless of the evidence presented, they would not vote to convict the governor. The story of how Huey got these signatures is detailed. It includes the use of mass propaganda, a stupendous stump speaking campaign, and, probably, some less ethical methods. It certainly is true that the "Robineers" fared well in the future. Patronage, judge-ships, "the earth and the fullness thereof" were theirs. At any rate, Huey had won, in what a severe critic, Carleton Beals, calls a

²²*Ibid.*, p. 142.

²³Hartnett Kane, *Deep Delta Country* (New York, 1944), p. 201.

²⁴Beals, p. 123.

"brilliant masterful defense against the organized corrupt might of the state."²⁵

The remainder of Huey's term as governor was almost calm. Representatives of industry and banking made a truce with him, looking toward the industrial development of the state. In 1930, still unable to get sufficient money for highways and public improvements, he made the bizarre proposal that he would run for the United States Senate, on the issue of more highways for Louisiana. As Huey tells it,

I made no secret of the fact that if the people saw fit to stand with me in the election, I would expect them to back up the processes necessary to bring about the fulfillment of administration purposes; but that, should the people see fit to express themselves as not favoring me, that I would accept the verdict and allow Dr. Cyr to take the post of Governor.²⁶

He was elected senator, but to the dismay of the lieutenant governor, served out his full term as governor, and got his puppet, O. K. Allen, elected to succeed him.

Huey's term of office in the Senate was scheduled to begin March 4, 1931. His reluctance to leave Louisiana in the hands of his enemies, however, caused him to delay beginning his senatorial career until January 25, 1932. Senators who were angry at this delay later wished it had been much longer. Huey's entrance into the ranks of Borah, Robinson, Glass, and Harrison had all the nicety of a hurricane in a box factory.

There were few Senate rules or traditions that Long did not break. He became a national figure almost at once. The galleries filled when he was scheduled to speak. Front pages carried his speeches, stories of his wardrobe, his idiosyncrasies. Radio networks gave him unlimited free time. His one-man filibusters on the Senate floor were legendary. One in January of 1933, set a record for length.

Outside the Senate Long was equally active. He was one of the five or six men most responsible for the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt, but broke with him soon after the election. The reasons for this break — which was to influence considerably this country's history — were several, with the most important probably being the unwillingness of either man to play "second fiddle." Huey's

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 163.

²⁶See also *Louisiana Progress*, July 16, 1930.

attacks on the administration became so violent, and so telling, that cabinet meetings were devoted to discussing ways of dealing with this thorn in the flesh. Senate debates with Joseph Robinson and radio slugging matches with Hugh Johnson and Harold Ickes were the country's delight. It has even been suggested that the reason New Deal policy turned sharply left in 1934 and 1935 was to hold some of the votes Huey was weaning away.

Through the buffoonery and ranting ran a deep purpose in Long's mind. He wanted the people to hear of, and believe in, Share-the-Wealth, his great scheme for ending America's poverty. As his radio speeches and millions of pamphlets made converts, he organized Share-the-Wealth Clubs. There were no dues, and the clubs actually were little more than glorified mailing lists of several million names (Huey claimed up to nine million members). He enlisted a former preacher, Gerald L. K. Smith, as lieutenant, and had a loose alliance with Father Coughlin. He claimed as authorities for his scheme Thomas Jefferson, Daniel Webster, Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Jackson, William Jennings Bryan, and God Almighty. Student clubs, spurred on by the free college education plank in Share-the-Wealth, were organized in universities. Share-the-Wealth was a going concern, threatening to sweep the country, at the time of Huey's death.

But let it not be thought that during these years Louisiana was neglected. Huey needed to retain control there for the political power it gave him in Washington and also for the money that the faithful contributed toward his nation-wide campaign. His puppet governor must be kept firmly at heel; any incipient revolt must be crushed. He made frequent trips to Louisiana, usually ordering Governor Allen to call a special session of the legislature while he was there. These sessions were models of controlled efficiency. They lasted only two or three days, and passed sheaves of bills in a matter of minutes. Huey was given power such as no other state official had ever dreamed of. The power of city and parish governments in Louisiana was reduced to zero. He was given an unlimited state militia, to be used at his own pleasure. He had absolute control over every office holder, every school teacher, every business in the state. Indeed, it is doubtful if any foreign dictatorship was ever more complete or in some respects more ruthless. As Harris has expressed it, Huey Long became, by 1934, "owner of Louisiana in fee simple . . . to have and to hold . . . for the balance of his days.

During the sixteen months that he survived, he never for a moment relinquished possession of it."²⁷

On September 8, 1935, Huey Long was assassinated in the foyer of the magnificent new capitol building which he had erected. Dr. Carl A. Weiss allegedly did the shooting, and was immediately cut to pieces by the guns of Long's bodyguard. Allegations and counter-allegations regarding plots and backers of the assassin were made but never publicly proved. Long's tomb is in the center of a magnificent formal garden in front of the capitol.

V

Huey Long spoke in Louisiana against a background of corruption, hypocrisy, and ineffectiveness in state politics. On the national stage he spoke against the despair of America's greatest depression. As is almost always the case, a leader was produced when a leaderless situation and a dynamic person met head-on.

What did Huey Long really believe? The answer may never be completely known. Yet from his speeches and from various oral and written statements we can get a good many clues.

In his own state Huey was regarded by many as a radical. He gave the little man a break, though his motives are still in question. He was not a racist, and seems to have gotten along well with the colored people.²⁸ His record on organized labor is spotty. The state Federation of Labor fought him. W. K. Henderson, a wealthy industrialist and foe of organized labor, was one of his strongest backers. Yet, Huey believed in the strict control of big business. Minimum wages, child labor, and other minor aspects of Share-the-Wealth were not pushed in Louisiana. On the other hand, he refused to use his police for strike breaking.²⁹ Beals points out that he was a great individualist rather than the leader of a social reform movement.³⁰

Seymour Weiss and others say that Long was at heart an educator. Admittedly, he did much to stamp out illiteracy in Louisiana. The fact that more than a hundred thousand black and white adults learned to read and write in one year is not to be minimized.

²⁷Harris, p. 166.

²⁸See New Orleans *Times Picayune*, April 29, 1930; *Louisiana Progress*, August 18, 1931, etc.

²⁹*Bogalusa News*, July 8, 1929.

³⁰Beals, p. 22.

He believed implicitly that all opposition must be destroyed. It was widely thought that in his little black "sonofabitch" book he had the names of all who had injured him, marked for vengeance.

He knew the power of propaganda. For a while he depended on circulars distributed by highway department trucks and paid agents; later, he had his own newspaper, *Louisiana Progress*, which Hartnett Kane calls "the most cheerfully venomous regular publication ever sent out."³¹

He believed in the ruthless cutting of red tape and of democratic processes alike, when either interfered with his program.

He used hillbilly methods, such as advocating "pot likker" and playing the role of "Kingfish." He believed in the Bible, and he believed in its constant use as a means of winning support from the poor people of Louisiana, and elsewhere.

He believed in a basket of benefits and a political circus as means of getting votes. He believed that the real salvation for an America wracked by depression was a better distribution of wealth.

Nationally, interest in Long centered in his solution for maldistributed capital. Huey called it "Share-the-Wealth." The scheme was to place a capital levy on all fortunes over \$100,000,000 (this was later brought down to \$5,000,000), and to distribute the revenue to people who had less than \$5,000 free of debt. It was not all to be done simply by an exchange of dollars, but of goods as well. Huey's followers visualized taking beds, radios, bathtubs, and refrigerators from wealthy people who had a surplus.³² Along with this excursion into fantastic economics were more reasonable ideas such as old age pensions, limited work hours, and free education for all young people. Later Long wrote that he did not object to big business, but only urged that its profits be more widely shared.³³

It is generally agreed that Huey was not a Fascist, in the sense that he adhered to a national socialist philosophy. He was, however, in Louisiana, a dictator. It seems inconceivable that he could have been otherwise in the White House. He frankly predicted that the Republican and Democratic parties would fold up and a single party would emerge.³⁴ His record gives no hint that Congress, the Supreme Court, or any other democratic check could have

³¹Kane, *Hayride*, p. 78.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 122.

³³Huey P. Long, *My First Days in the White House* (Harrisburg, Penn., 1935), p. 144.

³⁴Kane, *Hayride*, p. 124.

stayed the hand of President Huey Long in the attempt to carry out his program.

VI

Long spoke to a wide variety of audiences. Hartnett Kane has described his political meetings as a "cross between a New Orleans Carnival Parade, a revival meeting and a Saturday sandlot baseball game."³⁵ He spoke hundreds of times, giving dozens of different types of speeches. He delivered campaign addresses in cities, towns, villages, and hamlets all over Louisiana. As governor he spoke to such diverse groups as library associations, legislative committees, and L.S.U. commencements. He spoke in the United States Senate, and on coast-to-coast radio networks. In the Senate, almost every day he was in rough-and-tumble debate and also made occasional set speeches. The Senate listened in amazement, in anger; and yet in fascination. Tremendous radio audiences heard him first as a curious freak who had somehow fooled the people of his own state. Later they came more and more to hear him as he wanted to be heard — as the voice of a prophet with hope for the weary.

Evidence supplied by Huey's family and friends indicates that his specific preparation for a speech was sketchy or non-existent. His daughter, Mrs. Rose McFarland, attests to his tremendous knowledge of facts, which he gained from a great amount of rapid reading and keen observation. He never used a ghost writer, and practically never wrote out an address.³⁶ Even on sound truck campaigns he never used the same speech twice. His manager, Seymour Weiss, asserts that what he would say was decided upon after he had seen the crowd, and sized up their economic status from their dress and general appearance.

In a typical campaign speech, delivered at Bogalusa, Louisiana, in the midst of the impeachment fight, Huey employed a classical outline. After an introduction composed largely of ethical proof, he presented the thesis:

My friends and fellow Louisianians, I want to take up the issues involved in this impeachment as quickly as I can, and undertake to explain to you the motives behind them.³⁷

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁶Mrs. McFarland tells of one occasion when a radio station insisted he speak from manuscript. After a few seconds the paper sailed across the room and the speech continued extempore.

³⁷Bogalusa News, April 26, 1929.

He then devoted a large section to justifying the five-cents a barrel tax on oil that had provoked the impeachment attempt, another to answering the charges made against him in the indictment, and a third to a general attack on his opponents. His conclusion was largely emotional, ending with a rendition of Henley's *Invictus*.

News reports of his speeches frequently spoke of his "switching from topic to topic." Certainly, Huey was not a slave to one type of speech organization, but used or discarded any and all at the caprice of the moment.

Neither was Huey Long a slave to formal logic. Depending on his audience, he used logical proofs sparingly, or not at all. He was partial to argument from authority, frequently quoting at length from the Bible, William Green, Pope Pius, Josephus, or Socrates.

He used argument from analogy, example, cause to effect, and other forms of induction most effectively. His use of deduction was less frequent and less powerful.

In the realm of emotional appeal Long was a past master. He could describe the plight of the inmates of a state hospital in a way that would bring tears to a bronze statue. Then he might tell a rollicking, sometimes a ribald, story in the next breath. His daughter says he was the greatest student of audience psychology in the world. He never "talked down" to people. He quoted Scripture as public men rarely are able to do.

At the same time, Long brought to Louisiana campaign politics a new standard of invective. Kane quotes him as "imputing Negro blood, safe-tapping, and backbush immorality to governors or former governors." Speaking of his opponents, he said, "Thieves, bugs, lice . . . plundering high-binders . . . blackguards, the rottin' old gang, shoving to get back at the trough. . . ."³⁸

The Shreveport *Journal* of May 2, 1930, quoted a fine example of backwoods ethical proof used in a speech at Jonesboro:

I have been invited out to dinner here, and I bet they are going to serve me chicken, ham, and ice cream. What I need after driving hard through the country is some of that good old corn bread, boiled turnips and greens, with a lot of good old potlicker. Yes sir, that's real food.

A frequently quoted passage, illustrating his use of emotional proof, is from a speech made under the Evangeline Oak:

Where are the schools that you have waited for your children to have, that have never come? Where are the institutions to care for the sick

³⁸Kane, *Hayride*, p. 55.

and disabled? Evangeline wept bitter tears . . . but it lasted through one lifetime. Your tears in this country around this oak, have lasted for generations. Give me the chance to dry the eyes of those who still weep here.³⁹

Without question, Huey Long used emotional proof as one of the major elements in the magic of his speaking. Perhaps no one has ever used it more effectively.

It is difficult to say what sort of language, or style, was most typical of Huey. His daily talk ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. Most persons who heard him make public speeches commented on the boisterous, robust, hilarious, often profane, vocabulary he employed.⁴⁰ His grammar was frequently bad, probably deliberately so.⁴¹ Yet others who happened to be present when he addressed some cultured audience attest that on these occasions he spoke as a scholar. He had a photographic memory and was widely read in the classics. In the Senate he might employ perfectly normal language in the conduct of everyday business, then resort to a far more colorful style when the galleries were packed to hear him make a speech.

As for delivery, perhaps no more dynamic speaker ever strode upon a platform. He was variously described as having a wide mouth, a turned-up nose, a deeply cleft chin and heavy jaw, crinkly red hair, and a heavy figure. In a typical speaking situation he might flail his arms in what usually were described as "windmill gestures," rip off his coat and later his tie, stomp the platform, beat on the lectern, and shout constantly. He was a clown, a buffoon, but woe to the man who was deceived by the buffoonery! Moreover, he could adapt his delivery to the audience and occasion. On the radio he talked plainly, with what has been called a "vulgarily intimate inflection," and in as persuasive a manner as that used by Roosevelt in the "Fireside Chats."

VII

How, then, shall we evaluate Huey Long's effectiveness as a public speaker?

Item: He campaigned for Alfred E. Smith in 1928, and Louisiana rolled up the largest Smith majority of any Democratic state in the Union.

³⁹Beals, p. 81.

⁴⁰Swing, p. 82, says, "His profanity is not imaginative or colorful; it is just ordinary vulgar cussing."

⁴¹New Orleans *Times Picayune*, April 22, 1930.

Item: He campaigned in North Dakota for Roosevelt in 1932, by sound truck. Seymour Weiss, who accompanied him, describes the audiences as the greatest ever present at political meetings in the state. For the first time in generations the Democrats swept North Dakota.

Item: He drove his sound truck into Arkansas, where Mrs. Hattie Caraway was scheduled to run last in a Senate race against four able men. In one week of campaigning he changed enough votes to give the lady a clear majority over all her opponents. Where the sound truck went her vote was overwhelming; where it did not go she got barely a handful.⁴²

Item: Raymond Gram Swing, no friend, said "Huey Long is the best stump speaker in America. . . . Give him time on the air and let him have a week to campaign in each state, and he can sweep the country."⁴³

Lastly, what shall we say of Huey Long as a man? He rose in fifteen years from the obscurity of poverty in a small Louisiana town to be a potential president of the United States. What sort of man could make so rapid a climb?

The answer to this question will be guessed at for generations, or perhaps forever. There can be no doubt that Long did great things for his state. Yet the concentration of power in Baton Rouge which he effected paved the way for a series of crooked successors. He gave a new hope of democracy to multitudes of Louisiana peasants. Yet his flagrant disregard of the sanctity of the constitution, the laws, the courts, and the ballot left precedents that were far from healthy. Economists have exposed gaping fallacies in his Share-the-Wealth program. Did Huey know they were there? Was he a mountebank who hawked his patented elixir bottles knowing they were filled with branch water, or perhaps cyanide? Or was he a Samson, fighting with anything at hand against a system he believed to be evil? Put more simply, Did Huey Long get power in order to improve the lot of the people, or did he use the subservience of a peanut-fed people to give him ruthless power? These questions may well remain unanswered. Only this much is certain: Huey Long was a brilliant man; perhaps a genius. His rise was meteoric; his demise catastrophic. His speechmaking was never an end, but always an effective tool — indeed, an essential tool, in his drive for power.

⁴²Swing, p. 92.

⁴³*Ibid.*

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT: PROPHET OF RESISTANCE, 1828-1834

H. HARDY PERRITT

INTRODUCTION

MORE THAN thirty years before becoming the "father of secession" Robert Barnwell Rhett took the lead in South Carolina as a prophet of "resistance."¹ Others before him had suggested strong measures. Among them, Dr. Thomas Cooper had declared in July, 1827, that "we shall, before long, be compelled to calculate the value of our union";² and Robert J. Turnbull, writing under the pseudonym "Brutus," had advocated "resistance" in his essays entitled "The Crisis," and had proposed: "If this fails, let us separate."³ Indeed, the South Carolina legislature had addressed resolutions to Congress in December, 1827, declaring that Congress had no power to enact tariff laws for "the promotion of domestic manufactures."⁴ Yet, in the years following, Rhett was to be credited with having been the first to advocate more than mere protest.

Young Rhett had been elected to the legislature at the head of the ticket from St. Bartholomew's Parish in 1826. He was a native of the low country — a land of blue indigo, golden rice, white cotton, and black Negroes — where palatial plantation homes were fur-

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¹Rhett was born in Beaufort, S. C., in 1800, as Robert Barnwell Smith. The name was changed to Rhett in 1837. "Miscellaneous Book File U," MS, South Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, pp. 1-4, contains the official court record of the change. He was apparently first given the title "father of secession" in an obituary in the *Charleston News and Courier*, Sept. 18, 1876. See also Laura White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession* (New York, 1931).

²Quoted in Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, 1948), p. 189. See also Chauncey Samuel Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago, 1916), p. 3.

³Quoted in David F. Houston, *A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina* (New York, 1908), p. 51.

⁴*Report of a Special Committee of the Senate of South Carolina on the Subject of State Rights* (Washington, 1828). Contained in *Senate Documents*, 20 Cong., 1 Sess.

nished with rosewood and mahogany.⁵ Although Rhett was considered "a very brilliant and promising young man [who] spoke very often in the Legislature, and always spoke with fervor and animation,"⁶ there is no evidence that he took any active part in the deliberations over state rights and the tariff in 1827. During the six years thereafter, however, he was to be a central figure in the nullification threat of revolution. Of his many speeches during that period, four of the most significant ones portray his part in the struggle.

THE COLLETON ADDRESS, 1828

On June 12, 1828, just four weeks after the passage of the "tariff of abominations" by Congress,⁷ the twenty-eight year old Rhett rushed to the front with his version of the doctrine of "resistance." To a "respectable number of citizens of Colleton District convened at the Court House in Walterborough," where Rhett maintained a law office, he submitted two documents: an address to the people of the state and another to the governor. After Rhett had read the two papers, the meeting adopted both — the address to the people by a unanimous vote. The letter to the governor was a two-hundred word appeal that he "immediately convene the Legislature of the State" for "national consultation." The letter to the people of South Carolina, which was ordered by the meeting to be printed for circulation throughout the state, contained the bill of particulars. It came to be known as the Colleton Address.

After mention of passage of the tariff, the address plunged, "in the spirit of open candour," into an offer of "feeble counsel and conscientious determination." Rhett argued that through the anti-tariff protests from every section of the state and the memorial from the legislature to Congress, the state had "done by words all that words can do. To talk more must be a dastard's refuge." The address advised, therefore, "open resistance to the Laws of the Union" as the only course "left to us to pursue."

⁵For details of the concentrated slave culture of the low country see Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, 1942), and Francis Butler Simkins, *The South, Old and New: A History, 1820-1947* (New York, 1951).

⁶Benjamin F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 129.

⁷*Annals of Congress*, 20 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 786.

Rhett believed the tariff must be resisted because it violated the Constitution of the United States. According to his "humble conceptions, the constitutional grounds upon which our fathers resisted the pretensions of the British crown, are weak and trivial when compared with those upon which we now stand." Disclaiming any "desire of disunion, or to destroy the Constitution," Rhett argued "it is that we may preserve the Union, and bring back the Constitution to its original uncorrupted principles, that we now advise you to resist its violation." Many years later Rhett and others were to recall that he had predicted in 1828: "From the rapid step of usurpation, whether we now act or not, the day of open opposition to the pretended powers of the Constitution, cannot be far off; and it is that it may not go down in blood that we now call upon you to resist."

Rhett did not define "open resistance," nor was he explicit in the measures he believed resistance would require. He left details to the legislative councils: "As in those dark times that 'tried men's souls,' let us assemble in solemn Convention or in Legislature; and in firmness but humility of spirit, rely upon the Providence who has hitherto protected us, to guide and direct our anxious councils." To those who were "not prepared to follow up your principles wherever they may lead," Rhett could give only an admonition of pessimism: "Live in smiling peace with your insatiable oppressors, and die with the noble consolation, that your submissive patience will survive triumphant your beggary and despair."⁸

The editor of the Charleston *Mercury* described Rhett's address as "fervid, eloquent, and impressive," and thought that it embodied "at once the political creed, the popular feeling, and probably the determined policy of South Carolina."⁹ Hezekiah Niles published the address and remarked that it contained much "strange language." "On the whole," Niles continued, "a more extraordinary paper did not appear in the days of the Hartford Convention, and a disposition to extend the excitement is manifested on many occasions. . . ."¹⁰ Gaillard Hunt considered the address a fit expression of "the wild rage" of the South Carolina opponents of the tariff, and believed that it marked "a distinct stage in the advance toward nullification."¹¹

⁸Charleston *Daily Mercury*, June 18, 1828.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Niles' *Weekly Register* (Baltimore), June 28, 1828, 288-90.

¹¹Gaillard Hunt, "South Carolina During the Nullification Struggle," *Political Science Quarterly*, VI (1891), 236.

Excitement grew throughout South Carolina. On June 19, Congressman George McDuffie proposed at a Columbia meeting, over which Governor Taylor presided, that the state levy a prohibitive tax on Northern manufactured goods.¹² A letter from "Columbia," dated June 30, was quoted by the Charleston *Mercury*: "Such is the state of public feeling . . . that if the Delegation in Congress from the Southern States, were to secede *en masse* . . . I am satisfied that the recommendation would be received with *Bon Fires* and *Rejoicings* by the majority of our citizens."¹³ The Beaufort *Gazette*, edited by John A. Stuart, Rhett's brother-in-law, sponsored a pageant entitled "Disunion Drama."¹⁴ The *Mercury* carried a series of letters by "Sidney" and "Leonidas" threatening secession and war.¹⁵ Antagonism between the union and state rights factions rose to white heat. "Each regarded the other as traitorous."¹⁶

The state rights faction was the stronger and better organized of the two groups, and apparently had majority support throughout the state. It was feared by the state rights leaders, however, that extremism would endanger the election of Jackson and Calhoun. In fact, according to Robert Y. Hayne, the South Carolina delegation in Washington had agreed after passage of the tariff to attempt on their return home to "prevent, if possible, the adoption of any measures that might be made to bear, in any way, on the presidential election, or possibly subject the state to unjust imputations."¹⁷ Thus, the governor did not convene the legislature or call a state convention as requested by Rhett and his Colleton constituents. Yet, since even the unionists felt compelled to oppose the tariff, it was patently necessary that the leaders of the sectional faction invent a remedy. "Action" was the battle cry. The remedy must be more than mere words, but it must be less dangerous than Rhett's "open resistance."

The proper scene for the announcement of the solution was Walterborough. There, at a dinner in his honor on October 21, Congressman James Hamilton translated open resistance into "nullification." Thus he laid his plan of respectable resistance before

¹²Niles' *Weekly Register*, July 19, 1828, 339-41.

¹³Charleston *Daily Mercury*, July 8, 1828.

¹⁴Niles' *Weekly Register*, July 26, 1828, 353-56.

¹⁵Charleston *Daily Mercury*, July, 1828.

¹⁶Hunt, p. 236.

¹⁷Quoted in Niles' *Weekly Register*, November 15, 1828, 184.

the state: "Our reliance, then, is on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of '93 — And upon these we put our citadel where no man can harm it. . . . 'A nullification, then, of the unauthorized,' within our respective limits, is the '*rightful remedy*.'" Making doubly sure that the state rights faction was not supporting disunion, he closed with the toast: "Let us not abandon this work [the constitution] of our fathers until the only alternative left is to abandon *it* or Liberty *itself*."¹⁸

It remained for the legislature to spell out the details. After heated debate of numerous resolutions, compromise measures were adopted to make a "solemn protest against the unconstitutionality and oppressive operation of the system of protecting duties. . . ." Committees of seven from the House and nine from the Senate were appointed to carry the resolution into effect. Although Rhett had vigorously supported a resolution for a state convention, he was made a member of the committee of seven. Other members of the committee were James Gregg, D. L. Wardlaw, Hugh S. Legare, Arthur P. Hayne, William C. Preston, and William Elliot.¹⁹ This committee of seven reported the famous Exposition and Protest.²⁰

Despite the growing popular sentiment, four years of watchful waiting followed. Rhett and others who wanted a state convention had to accept postponement until they could win the necessary two-thirds majority in the legislature. But time did not stand still. The extreme state rightists had been far from control of the leadership of the state in 1828. By 1830, however, they had won a ma-

¹⁸Charleston *Daily Mercury*, October 30, 1828.

¹⁹"Journal of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of South Carolina, 1828" and "Journal of the Senate of the Legislature of South Carolina, 1828," MS, South Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C.

²⁰Many historians have credited John C. Calhoun with authorship of both the Exposition and the Protest. Richard K. Cralle, ed., *Reports and Public Letters of John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1855), pp. 2-57, gave the text of the Exposition as the rough draft was preserved in Calhoun's handwriting; but, since Calhoun's remarks and resolutions were not preserved, he included the Protest as reported by the committee of seven. *Life of John C. Calhoun*, pamphlet (New York, 1834), implied that Calhoun wrote both documents. In his eulogy of Calhoun in 1850, however, Rhett credited Hugh S. Legare with authorship of the Protest. See *The Death and Funeral Ceremonies of John Caldwell Calhoun, Containing the Speeches, Reports, and Other Documents Connected Therewith, the Oration of the Hon. R. B. Rhett Before the Legislature* (Columbia, 1850). Merrill Guerdon Christophersen, "A Rhetorical Study of Hugh Swinton Legare: South Carolina Unionist" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Florida, 1954), p. 173, presents other evidence that the Protest was Legare's work.

jority of both houses of the legislature, and in 1831 felt strong enough to talk openly of nullification. Rhett, himself, had catapulted from the position of a promising but impetuous young representative to the top ranks of party leadership, being chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee of the House, and "one of their favorite orators."²¹ The state rights leadership could face the future without fear. If Congress made significant reductions in the tariff, they could claim much credit; if not, their chances of winning a two-thirds majority of the legislature and a state nullification convention were practically assured.

THE WALTERBOROUGH SPEECH, JULY 4, 1832

After six months of Congressional debate on the tariff, the fact became clear in 1832 that, instead of abandoning the principle of protection, a bill was about to be passed which, in the words of Hayne, would fix "the system upon the country forever, beyond hope of future relief."²² Wiltse believes that "the tariff controversy, by 1832, was beyond reasoning. The cleavage was too deep for argument."²³ In South Carolina "nullification became the one question, and the fine points, both pro and con, were debated as never before."²⁴

At a Fourth of July celebration at Walterborough, sponsored jointly by local citizens and the Colleton Rifle Corps, Rhett was the "hero of the day." After F. H. Elmore's oration in the morning and a dinner followed by many "regular toasts," the committee on arrangements, apparently according to plan, offered the toast: "R. Barnwell Smith [Rhett] — The ardent and uncompromising advocate of State Rights, and from whom the first voice of resistance to unconstitutional taxation was heard." After the "deafening and long continued applause," Rhett addressed the crowd "in a strain in which he surpassed his usual eloquence. . . ."²⁵

After expressing his "profound and grateful sensibility [for] the generous kindness and partiality" of the sentiments of the toast, Rhett moved quickly to his favorite theme: ". . . have not seven

²¹Hunt, p. 239.

²²*Annals of Congress*, 22 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1291.

²³Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nullifier, 1829-1839* (New York, 1949), pp. 140-41.

²⁴Boucher, p. 172.

²⁵*Charleston Evening Post*, July 12, 1832.

years of imbecile petition and remonstrance, at the sacrifice of at least ten million dollars to South Carolina, at last convinced you, that your only redress for your wrongs, lies in resistance, and that if you have not the courage to maintain your rights with your own hands, you must drag the chain of ignoble subjection and dependence forever?" On this occasion, however, he was more concrete than he had been in 1828 in reducing abstract "resistance" to alternatives: "But if we have the courage to resist, how shall we resist? 'By Nullification?' it may be asked with a sneer: Sir, we answer any way, every way, provided it is downright effectual resistance — and affords practical protection to the free citizens of Carolina." In this speech Rhett disdained to enter into constitutional speculation. If resistance were the only remedy, he believed it did not matter whether one group thought the method constitutional and the other did not. Therefore, he reasoned, all who believed in resistance should co-operate in the "mode" proposed.

Apparently, though, nullification lacked the violence that Rhett's nature demanded. His preference was only thinly veiled when he contended that, at worst, nullification could lead only to revolution: "Revolution! Sir, I feel no chilling fears, no appalling terrors come over me at the sound: on the contrary, I feel my mind elate, and my spirits rise, as at the rushing of the gale, which bears me over the waves of a stormy ocean. What, sir, has the people ever gained, but by revolution?" Only by the blood of their fathers, "poured forth like mountain torrents in Revolution," were his auditors there as citizens of a republic listening to the wrongs they suffered. The word "revolution" was used fourteen times during the speech; the word "nullification," only once.

But, Rhett hastened to add, he was not advocating aggression. He did not wish to plunder others, but only to refuse to pay any longer "those who would plunder us." If, then, in defiance of reason and justice, as well as the constitution, "the fire and the sword of war are to be brought to our dwellings, why, then, Sir, I say, let them come! . . . Let them come! The spirit of '76 is not dead in Carolina. It kindles in the pine lands — it lights up along the swamps and our beautiful sea islands, and treads, with its blazing steps, on the tops of our mountains. Let them come!"

Rhett's concluding toast, "The Men of '76 — They dared all things but to be slaves," received nine cheers from the crowd; after which a rifleman offered the toast: "The spirit of '76 — I have

heard of it, and seen its blessed fruits; but now my eyes see it embodied in the gentleman who last addressed us." After considerable cheering, D. Edwards gave a tribute to Rhett as an "ardent patriot, the uncompromising foe to all political maneuvering, and the fearless and determined supporter of correct principles," and moved that Rhett furnish a copy of the speech for publication. The motion was unanimously adopted. Rhett, who apparently came prepared for such a request, "tendered a compliance."²⁶

The Charleston *Evening Post*, edited at that time by Rhett's brother-in-law, Stuart, found in the meeting "and in this manly, spirit-stirring speech, breathing the very inspiration of patriotism . . . the spirit of resistance, which shed its first light in the Colleton address, [and which] burns brighter and rises higher as the storm cloud lowers."²⁷ The *Mercury* was less ecstatic than the *Post*, but was quick to remind its readers that it had supported the policy advocated in the Colleton Address in 1828.²⁸

Meetings similar to the one in Walterborough were held all over the state by state rights and union factions. Unionists were agreeable to a state convention, if the tariff bill were passed by Congress. They contended, however, that the convention should endeavor only to promote a convention of all the Southern states. The nullifiers labeled the unionist position as a delaying action. When, on July 14, Congress adopted the tariff bill which reduced the levy on some items but on very few protected ones,²⁹ both factions stepped up the campaign. Many unionists were willing to accept the new tariff, but the state rightists insisted that it was worse than the 1828 bill.

The campaign was climaxed by a state rights victory of 23,000 to 17,000 popular votes in the state elections and overwhelming majorities in both houses of the legislature.³⁰ This new legislature was convened in special session on October 22, by Governor James Hamilton, Jr. On October 25, a bill calling a state convention, after having passed the Senate 31 to 13, was adopted by the House, 96 to 25.³¹

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Charleston *Daily Mercury*, July 14, 1832.

²⁹*Annals of Congress*, 22 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1293, 3913.

³⁰David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 442; see Boucher, p. 203, for a map showing the vote by districts and parishes.

³¹"Journal of the House, 1832," pp. 6-14.

When the convention assembled on November 19, Rhett, who had been elected a delegate by his loyal St. Bartholomews constituents, was absent because of illness.³² Thus he did not participate in the preparation of the Ordinance of Nullification, adopted on November 24, by a vote of 136 to 26, declaring the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void in South Carolina and ordaining that it would be unlawful for any official of the state or the United States to "enforce the payment of duties imposed by the said acts within the limits of this State. . . ."³³

The legislature, when it convened in regular session on November 26, adopted a detailed act of enforcement of the Ordinance, and girded for war with the federal government and the unionists. Furthermore, significant changes were made among high officials: Hayne was elected governor; Calhoun, who resigned as vice-president, replaced him in the Senate; Rhett succeeded James L. Petigru as attorney general of the state.³⁴ Despite these preparations, succeeding events gave the nullifiers pause. President Jackson, on December 10, labeled nullification as disunion and treason, and pledged to maintain the laws of the United States at all costs.³⁵ Unionists threatened civil war at home. No other state came to Carolina's side. Calhoun could find little sentiment in Congress in support of nullification.

As a result, in extra-legal proceedings at Charleston, on January 21, the "States Rights Party" agreed to postpone state action in pursuance of the Ordinance and acts of the legislature until Congress had an opportunity to modify the tariff. All attention focused on the efforts of Calhoun and the rest of the South Carolina delegation in Congress to win tariff reductions and defeat the Force Bill. They compromised on the tariff, accepting a bill lowering duties gradually to twenty per cent in 1842; but they lost on the Force Bill. Both became law on March 2, 1833.³⁶

³²*Charleston Daily Mercury*, November 22, 1832.

³³*The Report, Ordinance, and Addresses of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Adopted, November 24, 1832* (Columbia, 1832).

³⁴"Journal of the House, 1832."

³⁵*Proclamation of General Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, Against Nullification, December 10, 1832* (Washington, 1833).

³⁶Houston, p. 130; Wiltse, *Calhoun, Nullifier*, p. 181.

SPEECH ON REPEAL OF NULLIFICATION, 1833

On February 13, two days before the beginning of the great debate in the United States Senate between Calhoun and Webster on the Force Bill, Hamilton issued a call for the state convention to reconvene on March 11. When the group met, Hamilton resigned and Governor Hayne became president of the convention. Two days later a committee of twenty-one brought in a report declaring the compromise tariff a victory for South Carolina and recommending that the Ordinance of Nullification be repealed.³⁷ Rhett "leaped to his feet in passionate protest."³⁸

He agreed, at the outset, that "the Ordinance of Nullification must be raised" — that the state from the necessity of the situation "must assume a new, if not an inferior position." He could not agree, however, on the manner in which the new position was to be assumed. Rhett reminded his audience that the Ordinance stipulated that South Carolina would "submit alone to a Tariff 'which imposed the same rate of duties upon the unprotected, provided, that no more revenue should be raised than is necessary to meet the demands of the Government for Constitutional purposes, and provided, also, that a duty substantially uniform be imposed upon all foreign imports.'" Turning to the report then before the convention, he pointed to the statement: "Your committee find in the late modification of the Tariff, *cause for congratulation and triumph*." Yet, in another part of the report he found: ". . . this system of raising revenue by duties on imports is unequal and oppressive upon the South." Rhett wondered: "Is it cause for *congratulation and triumph* that inequality and oppression must be our portion under any system of raising duties upon imports? . . . Triumph in our oppression! and greet each other with congratulations, when our rights are not obtained!" Summarizing other provisions of the new tariff, Rhett could find no abandonment of the principle of protection. Thus he could find little reason for rejoicing: "Mr. President, we may sing peans [sic] of triumph if we will, and greet each other with congratulations: but I tell you, Sir, the People of this State would rather have taken the Coercion Bill with the battle-field, than accept of this modification. . . . Let us

³⁷Houston, p. 130.

³⁸White, p. 26.

beware how we outrage the feelings of freemen. Add not mockery to mortification."

Apparently carried away with his excitement, Rhett screamed defiance at the words in the report: "*Ardently attached to the Union of these States*, the people of South Carolina, were still more devoted to the rights of the States." He was ready to "ask the gentlemen upon this floor, whether they can lay their hands upon their hearts, and say, that they are 'ardently attached to the Union of these States.'"³⁹ Although his pulse had once beat high for the Union, Rhett was willing to "boldly declare" that under the government as administered he no longer had an "ardent attachment to the Union of these States." The convention itself had more than once declared that the Union was to blame for annihilation of the constitution. Therefore, he could say: "The star-spangled banner no longer waves in triumph and glory for me. . . . Ardently attached to the Union of these States! Sir, if a confederacy of the Southern States could now be obtained, should we not deem it a happy termination — happy beyond expectation, of our long struggle for our rights against oppression?"

Finally, Rhett came to his constructive suggestions to the convention. His preference was "simply a repeal of the Ordinance, without assigning any reasons, and without pledging ourselves to any compromise." If the group felt required, however, to give reasons, "let us endeavor to include those which really actuate this assembly." He concluded by moving to lay the report on the table.⁴⁰

According to the *Mercury*, Rhett's "warm and high speech" led to an "animated attack upon [him], by several gentlemen, whom, however, he beat off with much spirit." Later the paper elaborated: "When Mr. Barnwell Smith [Rhett] had ended, he was attacked by Col. Warren, Gen. Hamilton, and Gov. Miller. The first by declaring himself attached to the Union, certainly mis-attributed to Mr. S. a contrary feeling. Mr. Smith had clearly expressed a high attachment to the Union, upon its proper, original,

³⁹Perry, p. 133, recorded, as an eye witness of the scene, that "Old Colonel Warren, a revolutionary patriot, who had lost a leg in the war of Independence, jumped up on his crutches and said that he could, in truth and with all sincerity lay his hand on his heart and say that '*he loved this union!*'" But Mr. Rhett was always a disunionist as well as a nullifier and secessionist and despised the Union from the bottom of his heart till the day of his death."

⁴⁰Charleston *Daily Mercury*, March 26, 1833.

unperverted terms."⁴¹ Henry Barnard wrote his brother that Rhett, who, although "quite a young man, [was] of the brightest promise . . . humbled the tone of the browbeating Hamilton in the Convention."⁴²

Although Rhett's speech scarcely could have won him any friends in the convention, it did ridicule the body into deleting the word "triumph" from the report and making other slight modifications in wording before adopting it, on March 15, by a vote of 153 to 4.⁴³ Perhaps more significant than its slight immediate effect was the fact that Rhett's speech to the convention marked him as a natural rebel, who was as quick to make war upon his friends as upon his enemies when he felt that their political compromises were not completely forthright. Wallace calls this speech "a fierce and ominous declaration of policy" which was a sort of springboard from which "the most radical South Carolina leader of the next generation . . . leaped into prominence. . . . This most amiable and lovable of friends, the wellnigh perfect Christian gentleman, a man of the refinement and purity of a woman and of a single-minded devotion to truth as he saw it rare in politics, and a fanatical belief that he was right, though all the world was wrong, by his unceasing advocacy of these ideas became for a generation one of the important characters in American history."⁴⁴

THE TEST OATH CASE, 1834

On March 18, three days after rescinding the Ordinance of Nullification, the convention undertook to demonstrate that South Carolina was not yet "vanquished and fallen." By a vote of 132 to 19, the group passed another ordinance nullifying the Force Bill, on the grounds that it was an unconstitutional attempt to counteract an ordinance of the sovereign state of South Carolina adopted to protect her constitutional rights.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the new ordinance

⁴¹*Ibid.*, March 18, March 22, 1833.

⁴²Barnard wrote later, after being a dinner guest of Rhett's, that he found the "fierce nullifier . . . a man of great energy of mind and . . . very explicit in his views and opinions." According to Barnard, Rhett claimed the nullifiers had a plan to seize the government arsenals, but abandoned it after some "weak mind" let it out. Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "The South Atlantic States in 1833, as Seen by a New Englander," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 363-65.

⁴³Boucher, p. 289.

⁴⁴Wallace, II, 447-48.

⁴⁵Charleston *Daily Mercury*, March 25, 1833.

contained a new "test oath" of allegiance, providing: "That the allegiance of the citizens of this State, while they continue such, is due to the said State; and that obedience only, and not allegiance, is due by them to any other power or authority, to whom control over them has been, or may be delegated by the State. . . ." The Ordinance further authorized the legislature to "provide for the administration to the citizens and officers of the State . . . of suitable oaths or affirmations, binding them to the observance of such allegiance, and abjuring all other allegiance. . . ."46

When the legislature convened in December it passed an act requiring that "every officer of the militia" take an oath upon accepting his commission, to bear true allegiance to the state of South Carolina. Although the act did not include the phrase "abjuring all other allegiance," the implication was clear; unionists could not take the oath without repudiating their loyalty to the United States. Early in 1834, two officers, Edward McCready and James McDaniel, refused to take the oath. Both cases were appealed to the Court of Appeals, and "depending on the same principles, and making the same question, were argued and adjudged together." The combined opposition to the oath was represented by Thomas Grimke and James Petigru, both former tutors of Rhett and probably the two most competent attorneys in South Carolina. They were assisted by three other lawyers, and Rhett, as attorney general, had three assistants.

Grimke made the opening speech, arguing that "sovereignty and power are, when rightly considered [sic], one and the same; that power can be divided, and therefore that sovereignty can be divided. . . ." The opening address for the state was given by one of Rhett's assistants, Attorney Finley, who, according to the published summary of his speech, attempted to meet Grimke in general.

Rhett, following Finley, plunged immediately to the heart of the case. Citing John Marshall and Judge Waties of South Carolina, he contended that "it is incumbent upon the appellants, to shew not a doubtful case, but a clear case of confliction between the law and the Constitution." After thus attempting to lighten his burden of rebuttal, Rhett drew upon Coke and Blackstone to define allegiance as the "greatest obligation of duty and obedience . . . due

⁴⁶*The Book of Allegiance; or a Report of the Arguments of Counsel, Opinions of the Court of Appeals of South Carolina on the Oath of Allegiance* (Columbia, 1834).

from a subject . . . to the sovereign or sovereignty over him." This brought him to an early clash with Grimke: "Power is an attribute of sovereignty; but it is no more sovereignty, than the actions or conduct of a man, are the man."

Citing the Declaration of Independence, the South Carolina Constitution of 1778, and numerous acts and events prior to ratification of the Articles of Confederation, Rhett attempted to prove that "the State was sovereign," and the "power was in the people." He concluded this argument by saying: "A divided allegiance to a divided sovereignty, is an anomaly hitherto unheard of in any country, civilized or barbarous, and leads to consequences as tyrannical as they are terrible." Since the state could not have parted with its sovereignty except through the Articles of Confederation or the Constitution of the United States, Rhett proceeded to quote the Articles to the effect that "*Each state* retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence. . . ." He felt that the admission that the states had not "renounced their sovereignty *expressly*" through the constitution "probably ought to settle the question: for what inference, in the absence of any *express* declaration, can be sufficiently strong to prove that a nation has voluntarily renounced her self-existence, and has degraded herself into an ignoble powerless dependency?" In the methods of adoption and ratification of the constitution Rhett could not find "any intention of renouncing the sovereignty of the States." Even the history of the controversial preamble showed that the "people of the United States" phrase was substituted for an enumeration of the states because the committee expected new states to come in.

Rhett disposed quickly of arguments concerning implications of the procedures for amending the United States Constitution. It was his view that a state submitted as a sovereign to an amendment by three-fourths of the states because it was more desirable than the alternative of secession. He labeled any argument that the states have no right to secede as "begging the very question to be proved." If the other states should see fit to make war on a seceding state, that was no more than sovereign nations had done throughout history. The same reasoning could be applied, Rhett thought, to the guaranty in the constitution of a republican form of government to every state. The alternative for a state which wanted to change its governmental forms was secession. Going into a detailed citation of acts of the states during the Revolution and into an analysis of

the checks and balances system of the federal government, Rhett contended: "There is no sovereignty in the General Government on account of the powers it possesses. The General Government, like all other governments, is an agency established by the States. All of its powers are trust powers, belonging ultimately to the States — and those who wield them are the agents of the States."

Finally, Rhett piled case upon case to show precedent for a state to require such an oath. He clenched the argument with a quotation from Marshall: "... yet he would be charged with insanity who should contend that the Legislature might not superadd to the oath directed by the Constitution, such other oath of office, as its wisdom might suggest."

Petigru's brief speech concentrated on the political nature of the oath as a means of suppressing opposition to nullification. The remaining speeches did little more than amplify various arguments already presented by earlier speakers.

The decision in the case went just as everyone thought it would. Two of the judges, David Johnson and J. B. O'Neill, were known as devout unionists; the other, William Harper, had been the author of the 1832 Ordinance of Nullification. Their respective opinions on the constitutionality of the test oath were consistent with their party affiliations.⁴⁷

The unionists, through two seats on the Court of Appeals, had won a significant victory. The state rights majority must decisively repudiate this court decision, which struck at the already weak foundations of their philosophy. The 1833 legislature, in anticipation of the court action, had already given first passage to an allegiance amendment to the constitution. Thus the 1834 campaign for the legislature became a one-issue struggle. The state rights faction could recoup their stinging rebuke by the Court of Appeals only by keeping their two-thirds majority necessary for final passage of the constitutional amendment. The union faction could solidify their significant victory if they could win more than one-third of the seats. Returns gave the nullifiers a count of 32 to 13 in the Senate and 93 to 31 in the House.

When the 1834 legislature convened in November, the unionists' only defense, other than the perennial South Carolina cry of the oppressed minority, was that the state rights group had not won two-thirds of the popular vote of the state. Further revenge was

"Ibid.

threatened by a bill to reorganize the state's court system, abolishing the Court of Appeals. In a compromise, however, the court bill was dropped and the allegiance amendment was altered to include obedience to the federal government. The amendment then was adopted unanimously. The following year, however, after unionist judges had further alienated the state rightists, the bill abolishing the Court of Appeals was revived.⁴⁸

In the test oath debate, which was probably the most important judicial encounter of Rhett's career, he appeared out of character. His sober and somewhat lifeless logic did not sound like the 1828 "resistance," the 1832 "revolution," and the 1833 "confederacy of the Southern states." As a former student of Grimke and Petigru, Rhett must have known that his characteristic fire-ball manner would appear incongruous with their educated dignity. Moreover, his responsibility was great. Although the decision of the court could not be won, the cause of state sovereignty must be given the best defense possible. If he had not softened his preference for the raw right of revolution, he had begun to show the qualities which Wiltse thought characterized him later: "Bombastic, and master of all the arts of the demagogue, when bombast would serve his turn, or silky and smooth as mellowed honey when persuasiveness was needed. . . ."⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

According to White, during this period of "profound readjustment in his political outlook, [Rhett] mastered Calhoun's political theories, accepted them implicitly and prepared himself to support with all his abundant energy Calhoun's purpose and desire to preserve the Union as well as to protect the South."⁵⁰ On the other hand, an apparently well-informed contemporary believed that he "only gave in to that Doctrine [nullification] because he thought it would . . . precipitate the country into war, and the ultimate result would have been 'Separation of the South from the North.'"⁵¹

Although the end of the nullification episode closed a period in Rhett's life and in the history of South Carolina, Wallace argues

⁴⁸Boucher, pp. 345-66; Wallace, II, 452.

⁴⁹Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Sectionalist, 1840-1850* (New York, 1951), p. 52.

⁵⁰White, p. 33.

⁵¹"McCarter's Journal," MS, Library of Congress.

that it also "opened . . . an era," because it was this controversy which chiefly divided the "nationalistic, expansive period of the Revolution and after, from the following intensely sectional period of the bitter generation."⁵² Sydnor also believes that, "From this time onward, it is not always possible to explain Southern actions and attitudes by a rational analysis of the facts in each new episode. In addition to these facts one must take into account the emotional tension and the state of mind engendered in the earlier period."⁵³

Robert Barnwell Rhett was a product of the conditions which produced that state of mind in South Carolina. Furthermore, through his fiery and agitated public speaking, he had contributed his share to cultivating the irrational attitudes Wallace and Sydnor describe. As Rhett became more reasonable in his utterance in the 1830's and his state became less so, their thoughts and feelings began to move closer together. It was to be a slow process, however, requiring twenty-five more years for South Carolina's convictions to converge with those of her prophet of resistance.

⁵²Wallace, II, 452-53.

⁵³Sydnor, pp. 220-21.

THE OHIO RAID OF GENERAL JOHN B. GORDON

HUBER W. ELLINGSWORTH

I

SOME of the most colorful of Civil War military operations were the dramatic dashes of Confederate cavalry deep into Union territory. Though of little significance in the total pattern of the conflict, the raids of Stuart, Forrest, and Fitzhugh Lee often heartened the Confederacy and likewise stimulated the Union to greater efforts. These war-time expeditions into enemy country had their counterpart during the postwar years in the visits of Southern orators to Northern localities with messages of good will and reconciliation. The former rebels now pursued the cause of peace with as much enthusiasm as they had previously made war.¹ One of the most daring of these forensic forays was that of John B. Gordon, ex-Confederate general and governor of Georgia, who visited Ohio in October, 1887. To appreciate the circumstances in which Gordon found himself on this occasion, it is necessary to review the trend of national politics for the previous decade.

II

The "bloody shirt" was prominent among the rhetorical devices employed in American politics during the second half of the nineteenth century. Republican Radicals utilized it convincingly in impugning the loyalty of two decades of aspiring Democrats. With the election of Cleveland to the presidency in 1884, the sectional issue appeared relegated to a place below such domestic matters as tariff policy and currency reform. That there was still some life in the argument, however, was illustrated by the repeated threats of

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¹The list of Southerners who made reunion speeches in the North includes Garnett Andrews, M. B. Ball, Simon Buckner, Alfred Colquitt, James Gilchrist, Henry Grady, Wade Hampton, Hillary Herbert, Ben Hill, Clark Howell, David Key, Lucius Lamar, Fitzhugh Lee, William McCabe, Thomas Page, William Porter, Charles Port-Lock, Roger Pryor, Thomas Simons, W. L. Trenholm, Alfred Waddell, Henry Watterson, Joseph Wheeler, and Bennett Young.

such men as Henry Cabot Lodge and John Sherman to use federal troops in counteracting the flagrant disregard of many Southerners for the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment.

One of the habitual flourishers of the soiled garment was J. B. Foraker, Republican governor of Ohio, who in 1887, was seeking re-election. Foraker was particularly odious to the Democrats, not only because of his frequent references to the suppression of Southern Negro votes, but also because of his diatribe on President Cleveland following the presidential order to return all captured Confederate flags to the Southern states for preservation.² Foraker, impressed by the public acclaim which this "battle flag" speech had received in Ohio, determined to make sectionalism the key issue in his race for the governorship. He concluded that the voters wanted "to hear Cleveland flayed and they expected me to do it. . . . They wanted hot stuff and got plenty of it."³ Foraker was seconded in his canvassing by veteran campaigner John Sherman, then senator from Ohio. Sherman spoke "nearly every day" during October, climaxing his efforts at the Cleveland Music Hall on November 5.⁴ That Sherman was willing to follow Foraker's plan of attack is apparent from his speech at Wilmington, Ohio, in mid-October, when he struck out at the "tenderfeet . . . who would banish the word 'rebel' from our vocabulary, who would not denounce crimes against our fellow-citizens." He was equally critical of those who said that "we must surrender our captured battle flags to the rebels who bore them."⁵

As election day approached, it became increasingly evident to the Democrats that they must meet the sectional issue squarely if they were to entertain any hopes of victory. Thomas Powell, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, because he was a native of Ohio, obviously lacked the ethical background to defend the South against the allegations of disloyalty being made by Foraker and Sherman. For a number of reasons, John B. Gordon, a Southerner and a man well known both in war and politics, seemed the logical choice to offer a rebuttal to the Republican charges. Accordingly, the Ohio Democratic committee made plans for Gordon to visit Cincinnati,

²Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Chicago, 1937), p. 132.

³J. B. Foraker, *Notes on a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), p. 240.

⁴John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet* (New York, 1895), p. 1003.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 999.

Dayton, Columbus, and Cleveland, and to appear at rallies sponsored by local party committees.⁶

It may be inferred from Gordon's speeches that his strategy was not openly to debate Foraker on the issue of Negro suffrage, on which the South was all too vulnerable; but rather to create a general atmosphere of good feeling toward the South, while denouncing the Republicans as plunderers and political miscreants. Gordon brought to this undertaking a considerable background of political activity and some experience as a reconciler of sectional issues. His first noteworthy public speech was the address to his troops at Appomattox, in which he urged them to accept the consequences of their defeat and submit to civil authority. The following year he was a member of the Philadelphia "arm-in-arm" convention, and was thereafter present at most national Democratic councils. After losing the disputed Georgia gubernatorial election of 1868 to Republican R. B. Bullock, he demonstrated his personal popularity in 1872 by defeating Benjamin Hill and Alexander H. Stephens for the office of United States senator. In the Senate he spoke frequently on finance and civil service reform, and often defended the actions of Southern leaders. He also delivered a speech directed to the people of Louisiana, urging them to refrain from further demonstrations of violence against federal troops and to wait patiently for a change in conditions. His inaugural address following his election as governor of Georgia in 1874, was described by the New York *Sun* as "worthy of Jefferson." Moreover, he had been specifically prepared for his Ohio visit by helping Lucius Q. C. Lamar win a Mississippi senatorial seat in 1872, and by aiding Wade Hampton in banishing the Radical Republican administration from South Carolina in 1876.⁷

Gordon's first Northern attempt at this variety of political canvassing was at the Highland House, Cincinnati, on the evening of October 28, 1887. Located, as it was, in the extreme southern part of Ohio, and possessing one of the more prominent Democratic newspapers of the time, the *Enquirer*, Cincinnati had strong Democratic leanings, and could be expected to give Gordon a favorable response. His two-hour address was heard by five thousand people, according to one estimate. Several hundred others were turned

⁶Cincinnati *Enquirer*, October 29, 1887.

⁷Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), VIII, 425. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1898), I, 232.

away. Apparently the speech was enthusiastically received by the audience, which included "an unusually large number of colored men." Discounting the superlative tone of the report as representative of partisan reporting, we can still accept the following account as indicating a favorable response:

Gov. Gordon's appearance was a signal for a most enthusiastic ovation of welcome. The great audience arose to its feet as one man and cheered, shouted, yelled, stamped feet, waved handkerchiefs, and threw hats in the air, renewing these demonstrations again and again, for more than five minutes. When quiet was finally restored Governor Gordon began his address. . . . As an orator he is a master. His every utterance carries with it to his audience the conviction of candor, sincerity, truth and manliness. He is magnetic to a remarkable degree. He thrills and electrifies them. . . . His stage presence is grace itself. He is very happy in his gestures. Throughout his long address the immense audience sat spellbound. During the two hours and over that he spoke not a single soul left the hall. At times the enthusiasm of his hearers was indescribable. Every sentence or two throughout the speech was punctuated by cheers and applause. At times these noisy demonstrations of approval continued for three or four minutes. . . .

At the close of Governor Gordon's remarks the monster audience rose to its feet and uttered cheer after cheer of the most enthusiastic commendation, while those on the platform crowded about the orator to shake his hand in congratulation.⁸

Following this successful opening address in which he had talked in general terms about the mighty bond of friendship which bound North and South despite the attempts of the Republicans to destroy it, and had refused to mention any names in local politics despite shouted questions from the floor, Gordon moved confidently upstate toward Dayton, Columbus, and Cleveland.

While the Georgian was being triumphantly received in Cincinnati, however, the Ohio Republicans had not been idle. They had reproduced in the *Dayton Journal* a large portion of Gordon's testimony given on July 27, 1871, before the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Conditions of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, quoting him as denying any knowledge of or connection with the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, though admitting that he belonged to a "private group of citizens" committed to maintaining law and order in the state.⁹

These charges of duplicity and Klannery naturally served to discredit Gordon. But he was even more vulnerable on other counts.

⁸*Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 29, 1887.

⁹*Dayton Journal*, October 29, 1887.

Just before leaving on the Ohio trip, he had presided at Confederate Day in Macon, Georgia. Scheduled events were a Confederate reunion, speeches, and the appearance of Jefferson Davis. Gordon, as master of ceremonies, twice introduced Davis with towering eulogies. In an emotional platform scene, Davis kissed, fondled, and waved a large Confederate flag, while the crowd engaged in a passionate demonstration and Gordon wrung scores of outstretched hands.¹⁰ A sidelight observed by a press correspondent covering the affair was the ripping of a United States flag from a pike being carried in the demonstration. This overt act of apparent disloyalty supplied the lead for the story of the reunion in several Northern newspapers. Especially in Ohio was the story flaunted, with Gordon's name being prominently mentioned in connection with that of Davis.¹¹ As a consequence of this unfavorable publicity and the resultant protests from local G. A. R. posts, Gordon's scheduled appearance at the National Soldiers Home in Dayton was cancelled, and he hastily moved on to Columbus where he appeared at City Hall on the evening of November 1.¹²

In view of the *Dayton Journal's* lack of enthusiasm for Gordon, its reports of the Columbus and Cleveland receptions are probably not exaggerated. In the capital city, an estimated three thousand people were present, with about that number turned away; and the speaker was "frequently cheered" during his speech. Here, however, he was almost completely on the defensive in regard to the charges made against him by the Republican press, and found little time to review Republican carpetbagging activities or to pledge Southern loyalty, as he had done at Cincinnati. He pronounced his life an open book and declared that he had always acted with integrity and regard for the best interests of his country. He designated himself the friend of the Negro, and for evidence quoted extensively from newspaper articles by H. M. Turner, Negro bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and editor of a Negro newspaper, the *Southern Recorder*. In answer to charges of Ku Klux Klan membership, Gordon attempted to defend the necessity of an organization of citizens to keep order during the chaotic days of Reconstruction, but never denied being a member of the Klan.

¹⁰Comer Van Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 155.

¹¹*Dayton Journal*, October 28, 1887.

¹²*Ibid.*, November 1, 1887.

Near the end of the speech Gordon found time to compliment the Union soldier and denounce congressional Reconstruction policies as having created the solid South.¹³

Gordon's last speech of the tour was at the Cleveland Music Hall on the following evening, and was given before a "large" audience. Once again he was forced to spend most of his time in defense against attacks launched by the *Cleveland Leader*.¹⁴ He talked of his friendship with the Negro, and reiterated his explanation of the necessity for Southern citizens to protect themselves during Reconstruction. His only reconciliatory utterance was as follows:

I have not come to Ohio to discuss local issues. I am profoundly impressed with the conviction that the sooner the barriers which divide Ohio and Georgia are broken down, the better for your interests and mine. I have sometimes thought that I would be willing to see one more war, that we might march under the stars and stripes, shoulder to shoulder, against a common foe. If I could call the lightning down tonight, I would blast forever this horrible feeling of sectional hate.¹⁵

III

Considered in its entirety, Gordon's dash into Ohio hardly reflected the daring and aggressive raids made thirty-five years before by intrepid elements of the Confederate cavalry. Although he moved rapidly, he was painfully harassed from all sides, and soon became so engrossed in defense that he was unable to carry out his mission in the manner for which his plan of campaign had called.

Nor could the effect of his trip on the local political situation be classed as spectacular. Foraker easily defeated Powell for the governorship, as he probably would have done in any case, considering that the Republicans had elected candidates in Ohio almost at will for thirty-five years. Dismissing the strongly partisan members of both parties, whom Gordon could not have expected to influence at the polls, it is probable that the undecided voters were generally disinclined to vote for the Democratic candidate after hearing the renewed denunciation of Democratic actions and motives from the heavily Republican press of the state.

The pattern of balloting in the election supplies a possible measure of Gordon's immediate rhetorical effectiveness. In Cincin-

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Cleveland Leader*, October 28, November 1, 1887.

¹⁵*Dayton Journal*, November 2, 1887.

nati and surrounding Hamilton County, the front-running members of the Republican ticket received pluralities over their Democratic and Independent opponents of approximately twelve thousand votes, while Foraker ran ahead of Powell by only 6,730 votes, thus indicating a defection of over five thousand votes from the Republican gubernatorial candidate. The Cincinnati correspondent of the *New York Times* reported that local party leaders attributed this to Foraker's injection of the Southern issue into the campaign.¹⁶ Thus, it is entirely possible that Gordon's speech in answer to Foraker's "bloody shirt" attacks contributed to the dissatisfaction among more liberal Republicans, and resulted in the "scratching" of more than five thousand votes. In Columbus, as well as at Cleveland, however, Foraker ran virtually even with the rest of his ticket, piling up a larger vote than he had done in the previous election.¹⁷ There is, therefore, no indication that Gordon's speeches in these cities had any effect whatever in shifting votes away from Foraker.

But, while the tour may be written off as generally a failure in terms of its avowed purpose, it may well have had significant reconciliatory by-products. An excellent testimony to this effect is the acclaim given Gordon by his listeners, not only in Cleveland and Columbus, where he spoke despite a veritable shower of derogatory comments from hostile upstate papers, but also in Cincinnati, where he was not subjected to such abuse. Considered in the larger framework of attempts at reconciling North and South, Gordon's speeches were definitely a factor in bringing the sections closer together. Not only did they provide thousands of Northerners with an opportunity to learn at first hand what a prominent Southern leader was thinking, but they also brought a "notorious ex-rebel" into face-to-face contact with the people of Ohio. The net effect was to produce a climate of feeling more favorable to improved sectional relations.

¹⁶*New York Times*, November 10, 1887.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROTEST PLAY

MONROE LIPPMAN

I

SINCE its inception some three thousand or more years ago, the theatre has mirrored the civilizations in which it has existed. It has reflected the social and political trends of society, man's mores, his foibles, his problems, his triumphs, his defeats, his thinking. In short, it has reflected humanity. This reflection of man and his society is apparent in many facets of the theatre, but in none, perhaps, more clearly than in that category of plays which have been variously labeled left wing, propaganda, social, or protest plays. It is the last of these terms which will be used here to designate this type of drama.

The protest play dates back to the earliest days of Western civilization, as is evident from two of Aristophanes' best known comedies: *The Birds*, which offers some hilariously pointed comments on such ever-present problems as taxation and political demagoguery; and *Lysistrata*, with its unique but successful method for ending war. The concern with social problems is to be found in the dramatic literature of virtually all nations and periods. In our own country, protest lies at the very root of the drama, and it may not be too much to say that the American drama was, in a sense, born in the spirit of protest, since *Androborus*, the first play published in America (1714), was a play of protest. Certainly, our dramatic literature reveals much about our national attitudes toward major problems, beginning with certain plays of some of the Revolutionary playwrights, such as Mrs. Mercy Warren, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and Colonel Robert Munford, and coming down through some of the works of William Dunlap, Susanna Haswell Rowson, Leonard Chester, Cornelius Mathews, Dion Boucicault, Bronson Howard, Charles Klein, Clyde Fitch, Edward Sheldon, Maxwell Anderson, Elmer Rice, Robert E. Sherwood, Sidney Kingsley, Clifford Odets, and such younger contemporaries as Arthur

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Miller, to name just a few. Whenever we have been faced with large issues — and when haven't we been? — we have had playwrights to write about those issues; hence the many plays based on such major problems as war, racial and religious prejudice, the struggle between capital and labor, economic insecurity, and conflicting political and economic ideologies.

II

Despite, or perhaps because of, this abundance of protest drama, there exists some confusion as to what a play of protest really is. There are those who place in this category any play which has even a remote hint of a social aspect, however tenuous it may be. In the opinion of these critics such plays as *Secret Service* and *First Lady* should be so classified, merely because the former occurs during a war and involves soldiers, and the latter is set in Washington and involves politicians. Opposed to this view is the one which refuses to recognize as protest drama anything less militant than *Masse-Mensch* or less subtle than the flamboyant propaganda of the Prolet-Bühne. Although neither of these extreme views can be justified, such widely divergent opinions prompt the raising of certain questions: What constitutes a protest play? What are its characteristics? How may we recognize it? Because of the important place protest occupies in the world's dramatic literature, and more especially because of its great contribution to the vitality of the American drama, it would seem worth while to analyze the drama of protest in a search for answers to these questions.

In an attempt to arrive at an understanding of the protest play, let us first consider some of the plays which are generally regarded as belonging in this category. When we do, we discover that protest plays do not fall within a special dramatic or theatrical type, but may take any dramatic form the playwright chooses. Certainly such tragic or semi-tragic plays as Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, and Hauptmann's *The Weavers* are effective protest drama; but not less effective, in their own genre, are such comedies as *Born Yesterday* and *State of the Union*. Should one turn to melodrama for examples of the protest play, he will find them in such works as Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight*, Wexley's *The Last Mile*, Sheldon's *The Nigger*, or that all-time American smash hit, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Similarly, protest may be found in such

examples of farce as Lawson's *Loudspeaker* and Kaufman's, Ryskind's, and the Gershwins' *Of Thee I Sing* — which latter example, incidentally, also serves to illustrate that the protest play may appear in the musical theatre. Additional evidence of this fact is to be seen in Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* and Maxwell Anderson's and Kurt Weill's *Knickerbocker Holiday*. Even the revue stage has not escaped the protest writer's view, as will be agreed by those who remember *Pins and Needles*, produced some seasons back by Labor Stage and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Further evidence that protest drama may be successfully cast in any dramatic form lies in the many protest plays done as "living newspapers" — for example, *One Third of a Nation*, *Power*, and *Triple A Plowed Under*.

Just as protest drama cannot be confined to any of the various dramatic types, neither can it be identified by its literary style. Endless examples of protest plays in the style of realism may be cited, including some of those mentioned above. A quick reading of Sidney Kingsley's *Dead End* will suffice to show that highly effective protest drama can be written in the style of naturalism; and such plays as Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine* and Kaufman's and Connelly's *Beggar on Horseback* indicate that expressionism lends itself equally well. The efficacy of fantasy as a medium for the protest play has been well established by such playwrights as Maxwell Anderson with *High Tor*, Robert Ardrey with *Thunder Rock*, Irwin Shaw with *Bury the Dead*, and Paul Green with *Johnny Johnson*. Symbolism is the medium chosen by Philip Barry for *Liberty Jones*, and Clifford Odets uses an allegorical approach in *Golden Boy*.

As for production style, the protest play may be staged in whatever manner is demanded by the script. It may be staged with elaborate attention to detail, as were *Dead End* and Elmer Rice's *Street Scene*; it may be space-staged on an essentially bare stage, as was Clifford Odets' *Waiting For Lefty*; or even produced on a completely bare stage, as was *The Cradle Will Rock*. It may be given a highly stylized production, as was *Johnny Johnson*; or a sort of glorified vaudeville style of production, as in the case of John Howard Lawson's *Processional*. It may be set against the kind of realistic background which Howard Bay designed for *Deep Are the Roots*, or

its setting may embrace the kind of imaginative fantasy created by Jo Mielziner for *Death of a Salesman*.

III

Thus far our analysis has been negative: we have seen that the protest play cannot be identified by its dramatic form, its literary style, or its production style. How, then, can it be identified? What characteristic do the above-mentioned plays (and others which might be considered protest plays) have in common?

First, a consideration of these works shows that their themes center in such problems as war, economic insecurity, political corruption, prison reform, race prejudice, the exploitation of labor, abuses by big business, and conflicts among various political and economic ideologies. This suggests, then, that the protest play is concerned with some current political, social, or economic issue. This is true even when the play is set in a historical period different from that in which the problem exists, for certainly there can be no doubt that Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* is a telling commentary on our current investigating hysteria, even though its action is set almost three centuries back; or that Maxwell Anderson's *Valley Forge* and *Knickerbocker Holiday*, Sidney Kingsley's *The Patriots*, and Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* lose none of their immediate application to the times in which they were written simply because they happened to be set in other periods.

We see, then, that protest plays deal with some current problem of a social, political, or economic nature. But a mere awareness or casual consideration of such a problem is not sufficient; it is further necessary that the problem be the *major* concern of the playwright. Surely we would not deem Philip Barry's *Holiday* a protest play simply because it expresses certain ideas about the attitudes and practices of big business, since this is merely incidental to the main theme of the play. Nor can we consider Lindsay's and Crouse's *The Prescott Proposals* truly a protest play, since its kind words about the importance of the United Nations are only incidental to the development of the suspenseful plot. Whether *What Price Glory?* can be classified as a protest play depends upon whether it is regarded as primarily an anti-war play or simply the story of two men in conflict over a woman, with incidental overtones of an anti-war sentiment.

A still closer inspection of protest plays makes it apparent, however, that, while they share in common a primary concern with some current problem, they differ widely in the manner in which the playwright treats the problem. In some instances he may treat it with bitter, burning indignation, as is the case in Maxwell Anderson's *Both Your Houses* and Odets' *Waiting For Lefty*; in others he may use direct exhortative appeal, as George Sklar and Albert Maltz do in *Peace on Earth*. Some playwrights may choose satire as their weapon, as does Paul Green in *Johnny Johnson*; others may make their point by ridicule, as Kaufman and Ryskind have done in *Of Thee I Sing*. Still others may adopt the relatively dispassionate but highly effective method of assuming a sort of amused and tolerant attitude, while at the same time presenting a perceptive and penetrating discussion of the issue, as S. N. Behrman has done so successfully in such plays as *Biography*, *Wine of Choice*, and *End of Summer*.

Continuing this line of analysis, we also discover that writers of protest plays vary in their specific approach to the solution of the problem which forms the basis for their protest. In some cases, they may be forthright in their demands for reform or for specific changes in the *status quo*, as is exemplified in such plays as John Wexley's *They Shall Not Die*, in a number of the late Federal Theatre's "living newspaper" plays, or, perhaps most obviously, in the "agitprop" plays of the early thirties — if these can really be considered plays. Other playwrights may choose to argue the need for change, but without offering specific remedies, although general remedies will usually be at least implied. Examples of this approach are found in such works as *The Petrified Forest*, *The Adding Machine*, *High Tor*, *State of the Union*, and *Johnny Johnson*. Still other dramatists may approach the problem under examination by presenting a conflict of ideologies and leaving the audience to decide for itself which set of ideas it prefers — though sometimes they weigh the argument in favor of their own views. Here again such plays as S. N. Behrman's *Biography* and *Rain From Heaven*, and Kingsley's *The Patriots* serve as admirable examples. Occasionally the playwright may choose simply to present the existing situation as he sees it, feeling that a portrayal of the abuses will in itself constitute adequate argument for reform. This has been essentially the approach used by the authors of *Dead End*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, and *Of Mice and Men*. Yet, despite these differences in approach

to possible solutions of the problem, it is evident that protest playwrights share one trait in common: they present a definite viewpoint on the issue, either expressed or clearly implied.

IV

Our analysis has revealed many variables in the protest drama: plays may differ in dramatic form, in theatrical style, in method or style of production, in the playwright's treatment of his material, and in his general approach to possible solutions of the problem. It also reveals, however, that there are three constants: first, there is a concern for reform of an existing abuse, practice, or prevalent attitude toward a problem which is political, social, or economic in nature — or, of course, the problem may include any two or all three of these aspects; second, this concern is the play's major interest; and third, the playwright presents a definite point of view on the problem under consideration. In order to be properly classified as protest drama, a play must have all three of these characteristics.



WORKSHOP

IMPROVING THE FORENSICS PROGRAM: THE STUDENTS SPEAK

HELEN G. THORNTON

I

WE TEACHERS have just produced some wonderful ideas on forensics. We are all set to share our enthusiasm with prospective classes. The classroom door opens; a handful of students drift in. Past our door walk many other capable young men and women on their way to other departments. We are left with our wonderful ideas and with only a few disciples to carry them out. Why do so many students by-pass forensics in favor of other activities? How can we stimulate those who do enter our classrooms? In order to answer these questions, we need to know what is wrong with our program, and how it can be improved.

For answers, I went to the students themselves. Of the 162 persons who were questioned during the course of my investigation, 129 were undergraduates.*

II

One answer to the question, What's wrong with our program? may be found in the words of this student:

Miss Thornton (Ph.D., Denver, 1951) is Professor of Speech and Drama, and Director of Forensics at Mercer University.

*Students and faculty members from the following schools supplied information for this report: Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Appalachian State Teachers, Carson-Newman, David Lipscomb, Davidson, Duke, East Tennessee, Florida Christian, Florida State, Furman, Georgetown, Georgia Tech, Howard, Lenoir Rhyne, Louisiana State, Maryville, Mars Hill, Memphis State, Mercer, Mississippi Southern, Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Miami, North Carolina, Pittsburgh, South Carolina, United States Naval Academy, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Wake Forest.

The only criticism I have of the forensics program is the lack of a direct student approach. I feel that the Debate Council should be presented before the student body in an effort to stimulate their participation. This can be accomplished, not through faculty intervention, but through increased student promotion.

But why doesn't our program attract the students we want? Again the same individual answered:

Several misconceptions exist in the mind of the average student concerning the debate program. The first is the idea that, in order to take part in debate activities, one should be an intellectual giant, with a broad, basic knowledge of economics and politics. The second is that the debater must be an accomplished speaker when he starts debating, the student not realizing that this is something that comes only through continued practice and study. I wish this activity could be aimed at the average student on the basis that it would create in him the desire to learn these things and develop speaking ability that will prove invaluable later on.

Answers as to how the forensics program could be improved fell into four main categories: publicity, judging, tournaments, and courses for credit.

Sixteen out of sixty-four direct comments from students and four out of thirty-three observations from faculty members were concerned with obtaining more publicity. Does this low percentage of remarks from the faculty indicate that they think a good job is already being done on publicity? Does the higher percentage of criticisms on the part of students indicate that they think they are not receiving the recognition they deserve? I'm afraid it does, for in addition to the tabulation just offered, I found that five students criticized the lack of support from faculty members. Here are two of these statements: "Few faculty members take an active interest, and that seems to be a necessary prerequisite for a good program." "The present problem seems to be in convincing the faculty of the worth of speech activities."

A popular suggestion for securing more publicity was to increase the number of student appearances before audiences. There were eleven votes from students and six from coaches in favor of presenting more debates and discussions before such audiences as student body meetings, classrooms, clubs, community organizations, and faculty meetings. Apparently the students want others to know what they are doing, and feel that by more appearances before live audiences this goal can be achieved.

The second imposing criticism concerned judging. One-third of the students answering commented explicitly on the need for better qualified and more interested judges. Such remarks as these were received: "From the student's point of view, the judges prove a definite problem." "Do something about judges." "The greatest difficulty is, of course, with judging." "More competent judges, preferably more than one should be used." "No judge without experience."

One of the stated objections was to the judge who decides the winner before he has heard the entire debate. Another was to the judge who is influenced by personal prejudices — in favor of a certain school, or of one side of the question, or against some debater or coach. Still other protests pertained to judges knowing the name of the school represented by the contestants, and to the host school furnishing faculty members as extra judges. In concurring that a lack of interest on the part of many judges is evident, students agreed that we have in our midst judges who sleep during a debate — actually nod — and then give a decision.

A criticism made by one girl debater indicates the need for more uniform criteria for judging. In one debate a teacher who had coached debate for thirty years informed her that she was one of the best debaters he had ever heard. Then in the next round, she was advised by another judge to go home and forget debating. These two judges differed more than thirty points in their ratings of her work. Yet she was the same girl, using the same material on the same side of the question.

Clearly, so far as the student is concerned, judges are an inflammatory problem. But the students have not left us without remedies. Most frequently prescribed was the policy of requiring more than one judge — preferably three. Other recommendations were: secure a panel of seniors to act as judges; allow contestants to rate one another; give constructive criticisms either orally or in written form, allowing enough time between events for the criticisms; and, lastly, if a single judge is used, require him to state before each event the main points on which he judges.

The third method suggested for improving our program concerned the conducting of tournaments. Here the highest number of comments favored the use of various topics from current events or matters of student interest, rather than the national topic only. One student said:

If there were more variety in the topics in the forensics program, debate might appeal to more people. This would also do much to increase the interest of those already involved in it. We are leaving Thursday for a trip through New England. We expect to meet such schools as Bates, Tufts, New Hampshire, Harvard, and several others. We gave each school a choice of three topics and all but one picked the national topic—that is what I mean by overworking a topic.

One of the most frequently mentioned ideas for improving tournaments was to decrease the emphasis on winning, and place it on debating as an educational experience. This item received more support from the faculty members, however, than it did from the students. Here is one of the faculty comments:

I have read many articles by prominent professors in the journals. I think many valuable suggestions have been offered in these. The thing that worries me, however, is that in attending numerous tournaments throughout the country, I have found that these professors do not practice what they preach. If the changes which they advocate were actually put into practice many of my suggestions would not be necessary. . . . First of all, I abhor the fact that so many debate coaches are strictly *out to win*. Many coaches, I know, select one team at the beginning of the season whom they take everywhere in order that this team may become perfected in the art of winning. As I see it, our forensics program should include as many people as desire speech training.

And from another faculty member: "We need a program eliminating the *star system* which sees all the money being spent on two people to get a West Point bid."

Other suggestions for improving tournaments included these: (1) Organize the tournaments more effectively. Here is a freshman's first impression: "The slipshod ways employed . . . aren't effective. As a freshman, I have not been very much impressed by my first experience with forensics." (2) Schedule the students to debate both sides of the question. (3) Stimulate more local and regional tournaments, and, if possible, obtain audiences. (4) Do not allow debaters to meet two teams on the same side from the same school. (5) Save time between events by using mimeographed instruction sheets. (6) Provide a sufficient number of rooms that are adequate in size and properly equipped. (7) Provide time keepers. (8) Plan entertainment to promote friendly attitudes. (9) Don't crowd the schedule.

In connection with this last suggestion, the following student comment is pertinent:

I think tournaments should be kept small. I have seen seventy teams take part in five debates in two short days. It is quite hectic and mass confusion is usually the result. I have found that the fifth debate in any series usually is below par. Debaters soon become mechanical. They seem to lose interest and spark, and are too tired to do an outstanding job.

On the same point, a faculty member said:

Schedule the maximum number of debates which wisdom and efficiency will permit. I regret a tournament which is a "rat race," but I also regret traveling a team five hundred miles to participate in four debates.

The last category of comments from students and faculty members had to do with extending college credit for work in forensics. Twenty-two replies recommended that credit be given in such areas as debate, argumentation, vocabulary building, debate program, advanced speech courses, and public speaking. The requirement of one year of speech for all college students also rated high. The need for debate courses was urgently felt by one student who emphasized that the content of an argumentative speech should be as important as the delivery. Remarks such as this one were frequent: "We can improve the forensics program by keeping it on a high level intellectually — that is, making what is said as important as how it is said."

III

Our students, then, have spoken. We have seen how they believe our program could be improved — through more publicity, better judging, improved tournament procedures, and the giving of college credit for work in debate. With such constructive criticisms in mind we can better understand why we need to improve our forensics planning, why we need to stimulate more students to participate, and how we may accomplish our purpose so as to be a contributing factor to their busy lives. We do believe in forensics, and in our students — these college students of today who can and do speak.

A PROCEEDINGS REPORT OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

THE TWENTY-FIFTH annual meeting of the SOUTHERN SPEECH ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Peabody in Memphis, Tennessee, April 4-9, 1955. In addition to the general and sectional sessions of the convention proper, the Association's Forensics Tournament, the Student Congress of Human Relations, and Regional Workshops sponsored by AFA, AETA, and ASHA were also scheduled during this week.

P. Merville Larson served as director of the Tournament and Congress. Assisting him with the Tournament were Evelyn Kempe, Mary Louise Gehring, William Shaw, and James Hunt. Assistants working with the Congress were Carroll Ellis, Gregg Phifer, and Bertha Hunt.

William S. Smith, governor of the Southern division of AFA, led the AFA Workshop for debate coaches. Discussions centered in the over-all question: "How can the SSA Tournament and Congress be improved?"

THURSDAY, APRIL 7

"Problems for the Contemporary Theatre" were discussed symposium style, as the theatre group, led by Edyth Renshaw, heard Virgil Baker, Claude Shaver, Edna West, and Gilbert Hartwig. Dr. Baker, in discussing "New Playwrights for the Educational Theatre," made a plea that the educational theatre become an experimental theatre, a playwright's theatre, a creative theatre. "Half the plays of a season should be *new* plays," he said. He warned that "stress on technical methodology is threatening," and emphasized the need for "SURvival rather than REvival in drama."

Claude Shaver's subject, "Classics in the Educational Theatre," appeared on the surface to be an endorsement of a policy directly opposed to Dr. Baker's recommendation for more new plays. Dr. Shaver's development of the subject, however, proved to be a stimulating analysis of the attitudes of directors as they strive for a well-balanced program of dramatic fare. He mentioned a few of the attitudes felt but not always admitted by directors as they consider producing a classic: (1) Doesn't the educational theatre have

a cultural obligation to do a classic? (2) A classic carries no royalty. (3) Broadway succeeds with it in adapted form. He appealed to directors to ask themselves, "*Why are we doing the play?*" He expressed the belief that reading preparatory to selection of the classic is often too limited, that more of the minor writers and of the less well-known plays should be considered, and that the inclusion of classics in the educational theatre-producing program enriches the development of "our own knowledge of the classics."

Taking the Websterian premise that management is the "judicious use of means to accomplish an end," Edna West elaborated on three "means" that must especially be considered in educational theatre: (1) players, (2) production, and (3) purse strings. Management of players in educational theatre includes, she said, not only the training of students in the techniques of acting, but also in the development of a co-operative attitude toward the play itself and an appreciation of theatre as an art form, rather than as a local talent show. Second, Dr. West pointed out that a study of backstage management of the technical aspects of production revealed more similarity among schools than was observed in either of the other two aspects—players or purse strings. This similarity was attributed to the concrete nature of the work and the logical divisions into which production activities fall. In discussing purse strings, Dr. West reviewed briefly several ways of financing an educational theatre, giving the advantages and disadvantages of each. She recommended as "workable under certain circumstances" a method involving a partial subsidy and partial dependence on the box office, thereby providing some degree of security, and yet not removing the need for stimulating interest in publicity. Despite the factors favoring any one "method," however, the conclusion seems to prevail that "the number of ways to manage an educational theatre is in direct proportion to the number of administrators of educational institutions."

"The infinite number of possible variations upon a theme as broad as 'Design For Contemporary Theatre' was quite disturbing and confusing," said Gilbert Hartwig, as he undertook to describe what he termed a "total design." Too much interior decoration, failure to utilize advances in stage lighting equipment, too much dependence on current commercial trends in staging, and failure to include the auditorium or the audience in consideration of theatre "design" led Mr. Hartwig to urge that educational theatres (1)

emulate, not imitate, (2) instigate a tendency that can *guide* the theatre of the future rather than dominate it, (3) consider the actor as an organic part of the theatre, and (4) realize that in the opinion of many persons "creative leadership is rapidly passing from the hands of the commercial theatre to the educational theatre, much as world leadership came to the United States in the past decade." Educational theatres should be prepared, he advised, "to accept that leadership with a plan of action. . . ."

The subject considered by the panel at the first sectional meeting on forensics was "Problems in Extra-Curricular Forensics." Composing the panel were Mrs. R. L. Roberts, Donald Williams, and Mary Louise Gehring.

The group discussed three topics: how to recruit debaters, how to hold debaters, and how to finance debate. The panel generally agreed that classes in speech are a fertile ground from which to "recruit" debaters. Other sources are intramural speech activities on the campus and college-sponsored debate tournaments for high schools. Posters announcing debate tryouts were also recommended. In answer to an objection raised concerning the philosophy of "recruiting," the group agreed that this term was used to mean securing participation in debate by all students, and not the practice of discovering only those skilled speakers who will win debates.

In discussing "how to hold debaters," it was agreed that close personal contact was the best way to retain the interest of new debaters. The college directors of debate recommended the practice of putting a new debater with an experienced one as the best means of keeping the new man interested.

The problem of financing debate programs brought forth reports of several plans; the general conclusion, however, was that the method of financing was unique with almost every school. Waldo Braden's suggestion that \$1500 should be the maximum appropriated for a debate program received a degree of approval from the group.

At the speech correction sectional meeting, under the general topic of "Hearing," Jack Bangs, who was chairman, pointed out that the purpose of the panel was to explore the relationships between audiology and each of three related sciences.

Dr. W. W. Wilkinson, an otologist of Nashville, Tennessee, discussed the relationship between the medical profession and the audiologist. He emphasized that both deal primarily with human

beings for the good of the patient. Hence, the two fields complement each other. The audiologist must be a good public relations man, for he is often confronted with a very heavy job of selling and reselling his program. It is a scientific field, and the training of the audiologist must, therefore, be science-based. He urged more courses in physics, biology, and in medical sciences, including medical ethics.

Dr. James Shapley of the Houston Speech and Hearing Center, discussed the relationship between electro-acoustics and audiology. His primary purpose was to describe the clinical use of electro-acoustic instruments. He first defined audiology as the "science of hearing," with auditory communication as its essence. He then discussed various electro-acoustic systems, pointing out that an electro-acoustic device could be substituted for any part of the auditory communication system, but that the component parts need frequent checking to insure accuracy. The future importance of electro-acoustics to auditory advancement was also suggested.

Dr. T. D. Hanley discussed relationships between experimental phonetics and audiology. He said that the experimental phonetician, being interested in all aspects of speech sounds (production, transmission, and reception), has made significant contributions to clinical methods through laboratory experimentation. Reference was made to experimental work by Fletcher, Carhart, and Fairbanks; and, by way of contrast, to more recent research in speech intelligibility done at Harvard, Purdue, and several military establishments. He then discussed how these laboratory results could be applied to clinical audiology, especially in the selection of basic vocabulary training units (words and syllables) for children with different types of hearing loss.

Louise D. Davison, president of the SOUTHERN SPEECH ASSOCIATION, opened the first general session of the convention at 10:30 Thursday morning. Following the invocation and greetings, Thomas A. Rousse, president of the Speech Association of America, spoke on one of the major problems in teaching speech, "Numbers vs. Money." The overflow of students and the increase in instructional costs have contributed to a most urgent need for a basic understanding of the "fundamentals of speech" on the part of educators. Speech is an expensive subject to teach because it must be taught in *small* classes. Also, he said, there must be agreement as to the content of the basic speech course, and more teachers must be provided to

handle the additional sections which should be offered. Dr. Rousse concluded with the challenge: Sell your administration on the value of speech and convince it of the need for more money to get more teachers and have smaller classes.

Harold Weiss presented an interesting account of some of his experiences as Fullbright Professor of Speech, English, and Drama at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand. Interspersed among his descriptions of methods, course content, teaching loads, etc., were human interest stories, examples of confusing translations, and costume demonstrations. These contributed a unique flavor vividly characteristic of the Far East.

Opening the second round of sectional meetings was an outstanding session on "Rhetoric and Public Address," with Dallas Dickey as chairman. In his talk on "The Extrinsic Sources of Blair's Popularity as a Rhetorician," James L. Golden pointed out interesting and significant sources of Blair's popularity: the olympian prestige he enjoyed as a preacher, critic, and author; the friendships that Blair had with notable men of his age; and the fact that his publications appeared at a time of widespread reading, stemming from the growth of libraries and the intellectual emancipation of women.

Francine Merritt read a paper entitled "A Nineteenth-Century Journal of Elocution Views Public Speaking." This delightful report gave an account of how the transition from "elocution" to modern "public speaking" was mirrored in *Werner's Magazine* at the turn of the century.

Ralph Eubanks reported on "The Penelope Davis Preston Diary." The diary, said Mr. Eubanks, was extremely valuable as a primary source in the study of William C. Preston of South Carolina. Within the diary are found many important observations about Preston, his times, and his relations with such famous contemporaries as Calhoun and Webster.

"A Possible Derivation of the Concept of Evidence in Modern Speech Texts" was the title of the paper presented by Paul Brandes. In it Dr. Brandes argued that the concept of evidence must be divorced from the speaker, and that many writers of public speaking textbooks have erroneously tried to make evidence "a part of the speaker instead of treating them separately." At the close of the meeting, the chairman announced that a new book on Southern oratory from the time of the Missouri Compromise to the elec-

tion of Lincoln will be published soon under the sponsorship of the Speech Association of America.

"Oral Interpretation — Handmaiden to Communication" was the topic discussed at the session of which George Wilson was chairman.

Joseph C. Wetherby spoke on "The History and Contribution of Oral Interpretation in the Field of Rhetoric." He stated that from ancient times speakers had practiced delivering from memory addresses composed by others. Moreover, oral interpretation has always been the basis for successful manuscript speaking, for reading interpolated quotations, and for preachers in reading the Bible. In speech classes today, many of the same topics are dealt with, whether the course is listed as one in public speaking or in interpretation. In short, the "core" subject in speech is oral interpretation.

Rebecca Sue Craig developed the topic, "Utilization of Oral Interpretation in Speech Correction." She reported that interest and training in oral interpretation enrich the teaching of the speech correctionist, not only for choosing good materials to use with children, but also for directing creative dramatics, for releasing personality, and for providing genuine fun with the children. Clinicians with an oral interpretation background seem better able to establish suitable rhythm patterns, to facilitate ear training, to give general body training, to help stutterers, and to improve vocal resonance. Furthermore, a clinician so trained tends to gain insight into a student's individuality rather than to stereotype him as a "speech defective." Arbuthnot, *Speech in the Elementary School*; Scott and Thompson, *Talking Time*; and Ogilvie, *Speech in the Elementary School* were mentioned as references helpful in using oral interpretation in the speech correction program.

Allen Bales, speaking on "Contributions of Oral Interpretation to the Theatre," discussed two phases of the subject. He has found that a returning freedom of form and style in reading has developed a convention of presenting literature in the most effective manner, regardless of the old rigid categories of impersonation, acting, and reading. He suggested also that with power in oral interpretation the actor has a better means of dealing with poetic experience in theatre.

Pursuing the "Missing Links in Speech Education" were Eunice Horne, chairman, Charles McGlon, John Mader, William Shea, and Bernice Mims. One of the most serious "missing links" cited by the symposium was state certification. "Classroom teachers and admin-

istrators now are not aware of speech effectiveness," it was declared. Speech defects, substandard diction, and ineffective voice quality today are more often the rule than the exception. Only when faulty speech habits and faulty attitudes are eliminated can adequacy in communication be achieved.

The third round of sectional meetings consisted of programs on graduate study and research, radio and television, voice science, and forensics.

H. P. Constans led the panel concerned with an explanation of the Graduate Record Examination and other advanced tests in speech. Panel members raised questions regarding: (1) the immediate goal of training at the M. A. level, (2) the extent to which concentration should be permitted at each level of graduate work, (3) the advisability of requiring a thesis, (4) the basis of acceptability for a creative thesis, (5) the requirements for a minor outside the speech field, (6) the standards for evaluating historical studies in various speech areas, and (7) some of the research problems which challenge the speech educator to more study. Composing the panel, in addition to the chairman, were J. Jeffery Auer, Claude L. Shaver, McKenzie W. Buck, George Kernodle, Joseph Baldwin, T. Earle Johnson, and Jesse Villarreal.

"New Horizons in Educational Television" was the topic launched under the leadership of Albert L. Capuder. The speakers attempted to relate their remarks to the two broad questions: What is the job to be done in educational television? and What does it take to accomplish that job? Lucille Ruby emphasized the need for any institution to consider the best "starting place" for the achievement of the particular goal desired, and referred to various "starting places" for TV—"formal education," "informal," "adult," etc. State colleges and universities engaged in television face an obligation of service to the state. They need to decide what they can do best, and what they can hope to accomplish.

The problem of securing needed equipment was discussed at length. Does the college need to start from scratch? Assuming it does, does its equipment eventually need to equal that of the commercial station? Do operating and production costs need to equal those of the commercial station? What is the outlook for simple operating equipment? Kenneth Christiansen stressed the necessity of formulating a clear purpose before any decision is made as to equipment, and urged that the question, Why are we doing it? be

given primary consideration. Wayne Bundy reiterated the importance of this consideration and proceeded with evaluations of plans and equipment to produce effectively "what we have to say" on TV. Wayne E. Stewart presented the side of "Industrial TV" as it differs from commercial and educational television, focusing his attention especially on the training of personnel. All members of the panel concurred in the conviction that competition is not a factor in educational TV.

At the sectional meeting on voice science, of which Giles W. Gray was chairman, Charles Hutton reported on his investigation of the "Psychophysics of Speech Rate." This investigation was concerned with certain aspects of the temporal relationships of speech which are commonly encountered. An experimental procedure was arranged to permit investigation of the functional relationships between perceived and measured rates and durations of speech samples, preferred speech rates, and the perceptual effects of time compression and expansion of speech. Appropriate stimulus materials were prepared, measured, and presented to groups of observers for judgments of various types, and the relationships between measurements and judgments were analyzed. Within the limitations of the experiment, the following were the major findings:

- (1) Estimated rate was found to be a logarithmic function of measured rate in words per second during the total speaking time.
- (2) Estimated duration was related linearly to measured total duration.
- (3) Estimated duration was proportional to the reciprocal rate of measured words per second during the total speaking time.
- (4) Equations were derived from the above-mentioned data for predicting estimated rate from measured rate, estimated duration from measured duration, and estimated duration from measured rate.
- (5) The judged appropriateness of a given speech sample was found to be an inverse linear function of the difference between the estimated rate of the sample and the estimated rate most preferred.
- (6) Speech performances with inappropriately slow or fast rate were found to be substantially improved by automatic time compression or expansion toward the most preferred rate levels.

Another recent study in this field was discussed by Roy E. Tew. The purpose of Dr. Tew's research was to investigate the influence of men's vocal characteristics on their judgments of the vocal characteristics of other men. Six vocal characteristics were investigated. These were pitch level, pitch variation, loudness level, loudness variation, rate level, and rate variation. Six null hypotheses were formulated, one relating to each of the six vocal characteristics. To test the six hypotheses, a stimulus "test" was composed, consisting of ninety items recorded on magnetic tape for aural presentation to the subjects.

Three hundred thirty-five male subjects, all students at the University of Florida, were secured. The age spread was 16-43 years; the median, 18.3 years. All had normal hearing and speech as determined by screening tests. The experimental data were collected by having the subjects listen in groups of two or more to the stimulus test, and rate each of the ninety items on a five-point scale.

The data were treated by analysis of variance. The results revealed no significant differences among the mean ratings of the three groups for any of the vocal characteristics. Thus, the six null hypotheses were not rejected. The experiment produced no evidence which would indicate that there is a significant relationship between men's vocal characteristics and their ratings of the vocal characteristics of other men.

Don A. Harrington was the third speaker on the voice science symposium. His topic was "The Place of Voice Science in the Speech Curriculum." Dr. Harrington pointed out that all majors in the speech field need certain basic scientific information. He questioned whether that information should be presented as part of a number of specialized courses or whether it should be presented in a separate required course. Though urging a separate course, he suggested that there is no need for a distinct graduate major in voice science.

"Problems in the Classroom Teaching of Forensics" proved a stimulating topic for the session led by E. L. Pross.

Gregg Phifer discussed the objectives of the course in forensics. After noting at least three variables accounting for differences in the objectives of such courses (grade level, type of institution, and needs of the students), Phifer described four levels on which the course might operate: (1) the level of basic skills, including such abilities as doing research and choosing and wording propositions;

(2) the level of basic philosophy, including the place of debate in our society and its relationships to discussion and persuasive speaking; (3) the level of practical debate, including case construction, refutation, and rebuttal; and (4) the level of debate strategy, debate evaluation, and the direction of forensics. Any course in forensics may operate on one or several of these levels, but should not attempt the higher levels without at least some groundwork in the lower.

J. Albert Tracy attempted to answer the question, Should the teaching of forensics be a curricular or an extracurricular activity? He used Murray State College as a case study to indicate that forensics should be both curricular and extracurricular if maximum benefits are to be gained by the students.

William S. Smith chose to answer the question, What about formal logic in the forensics course? Dr. Smith pointed out that traditional theory in debate includes materials from formal logic, while the theory of discussion excludes formal logic almost entirely. This, he said, indicates the necessity for more investigation into the theory of both discussion and debate. He suggested that it seemed reasonable that discussion and debate should have a common theory of reasoning and proof. After a preliminary investigation, it was his conclusion that formal logic has remained in the theory of debate on grounds of tradition; that it is not actually reasoning, but rather a means of testing reasoning and a means of organization. He pointed up the need for research in the whole field of reasoning and formal logic as used in debate, and suggested that straight thinking might be better taught in other ways.

Lola Walker raised the question, What about discussion in the forensics course? Miss Walker pointed out the relationship between discussion and debate as "complementary phases of a single, unitary process," and suggested that discussion can be a valuable tool when employed in preparation for advocacy. The four forms of discussion recommended are (1) the lecture-forum, (2) informal discussion, (3) panel discussion, and (4) the symposium. Miss Walker suggested that the lecture-forum should be employed first, using faculty members as personnel. The informal discussion should follow, with students taking part in the discussion of several articles assigned for reading. If experts can be obtained, a panel should then be presented to the students. The last step of preparation in which discussion is employed is a symposium of student speakers.

Each speaker is assigned a step in the pattern of reflective thinking. After completion of these steps in preparation, the students should be ready for practice debates.

Faculty members and college students, with Roberta Winter as chairman, shared the spotlight at the five o'clock reading hour as "Great Literature of the Season" (poetry and drama from the Hindu, Egyptian, Roman, and Christian traditions) was presented. Readers included Douglas Hume, James Haman, George Neeley, Memye Curtis, and Eleanor Swain. On Thursday evening convention delegates were guests of the Memphis Little Theatre at a presentation of *Gigi* by Anita Loos, based on the novel by Colette. The play was directed by Eugart Yerian.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8

The fourth round of sectional meetings included "Cleft Palate Speech," "Speech For Religious Workers," and "Elementary-Secondary Dramatics." Jeannette Laguaite served as chairman for the speech correction group for whom "An Organized Cleft Palate Clinic in Operation" was presented by the Memphis Cleft Palate Center, Dr. William Milton Adams, Director. Serving as moderator for the panel was John Irwin, director of the Memphis Speech and Hearing Center. Nine different but related aspects of the subject were presented by such specialists as a plastic surgeon, an otolaryngologist, orthodontist, prosthodontist, pediadonist, pediatrician, psychiatrist, speech therapist, and social worker. Participating in the discussion were Dr. William Milton Adams, Dr. Charles E. Long, Dr. Faustin Weber, Dr. Thomas Shipman, Dr. Kimbrough Boren, Dr. Tom Mitchell, Dr. D. C. McCool, Miss Nancy Stewart, Mrs. B. L. Scott, and Mrs. W. S. Keiser.

"Teaching Speech to Preachers" was discussed from various points of view, each of which revealed the contributive value of training in a different area of the speech field. A "Workshop in Preaching" was described by Wofford Smith, while the relationships of drama, public speaking, and oral interpretation to theological training were presented and evaluated by Howard Pelham, Fred Barton, and Nelly Magee, respectively. Carroll Ellis was chairman.

At the meeting on elementary-secondary level dramatics, Barbara Dodson presided as demonstrations and critiques brought forth renewed interest in the question, "Dramatics, An Educational Frill

or Essential?" Both creative and formal dramatics demonstrations were presented, the former under the direction of Lucille Ewing of the Memphis Children's Theatre, and the latter under Gladys Jack of Memphis East High School. Contributing the critical evaluations were Delwin B. Dusenbury and William E. Ogden. The session was held at the Memphis East High School.

Frank B. Davis, first vice-president of the Association, presided over the second general session held in Convention Hall at 10:30. The topic capably handled by three speakers was "Special Education." Winburn E. Davis, substituting for Darrell J. Mase, evaluated the present status of special education, and followed his evaluation with a glimpse into the future of this field. Roger Elser spoke on "Speech Correction and the Multiple Handicapped"; and Waldo Braden, replacing Mamie Jones, presented the side of the gifted child and the benefits he derives from the speech program.

Following the second business meeting, Freda Kenner, SSA second vice-president, presented the speakers at the third general assembly. "Communication" was the broad subject of this session. The topic was handled first from the standpoint of the newspaper editor by Frank R. Ahlgren of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, whose subject was "Communications from the News Analysis Point of View." The president of the American Speech and Hearing Association, Dr. Harlan Bloomer, then discussed the topic, "Defective Speech — A Source of Breakdown in Communication."*

Leighton Ballew presided over the session which featured "Pageant-Drama."

Theos Cronk, formerly business manager of Westminster Choir College, one-time business manager of "The Lost Colony," and presently business manager of "Wilderness Road," forthcoming pageant-drama at Berea, Kentucky, spoke on "The Organization and Administration of the Historical Pageant-Drama." He explained that "Wilderness Road" is backed by Berea College and its alumni association as part of the centennial celebration of the College. Promoting agents include the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, small weekly papers in neighboring states, and club publications. Forty-two of the sixty performances scheduled for the summer have already been accepted by various sponsoring organizations. A "picnic package"

*Dr. Bloomer's address appeared in a slightly modified form in THE SOUTHERN SPEECH JOURNAL, XXI (Fall, 1955), 1-11.

supper will be served nightly on "Fat Man's Misery." Eight denominations have planned Sunday worship services in the theatre, which will also be used on Mondays for religious conferences. Persons of local or national importance (mayors, governors, writers, etc.) are being invited to serve as hosts or guests of honor at each performance.

Foster Fitz-Simons, director, choreographer, and author, spoke on "Problems in Acting and Choreography in the Historical Pageant-Drama." He listed three needs of the actor: the ability to project in a large space; the skill to work in bold, wide strokes and simple patterns; and physical vitality, exhibited in strength of movement and voice, and in speech characterized by appropriate tempo, large vowels, and definite final consonants. Choreography, he pointed out, must be aesthetically right. It must underscore and heighten the action; it must illustrate the story or the mood; and, to a certain extent, it must serve as decoration. Patterns must be big and clear; use must be made of large numbers, not of solos.

Harry Davis spoke on "Staging the Historical Pageant-Drama." From his experience as director of "Unto These Hills," he pointed out that the technical aspects of production are enlarged and emphasized: costumes are more colorful; lighting is supplied from great towers with special techniques; music contributes added effectiveness; period motifs may be exaggerated. The director of a pageant-drama must be a good organizer, and must have a good administrative staff. Successful producers of such entertainments must combine professional practice with amateur actors paid at rates satisfactory to Actors' Equity. Mr. Davis followed the session by holding open auditions for "Unto These Hills." He suggested that interested persons might obtain additional information in a booklet circulated by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina.

At the same hour that the theatre meetings were being held, a panel discussion on aphasia revealed current trends in diagnostic and therapeutic procedures, although the consensus of opinion seemed to be that "current thinking" still considers aphasia a major question mark. Ollie Backus spoke of the "aphasia-like tendency." She stressed the vital importance of understanding the child and working toward emotional stabilization as prerequisites for therapeutic application. Jesse Villarreal intimated the baffling nature of the problem, but endorsed Wetman's philosophy, especially his atti-

tude toward therapeutic methods for adult aphasics. Sara Ivey acted as chairman.

Speech needs at the elementary-junior high school level were discussed in a symposium Friday afternoon, with Christine Drake as chairman. John J. Puis, Speech Supervisor, Southern Illinois University, suggested that the needs of the elementary and junior high school student were much the same as those of more advanced students. Therefore, the elementary and junior high school teacher has the obligation of attempting to teach the same speech skills that the high school speech teacher does. He classified the students to be taught on three levels: the abnormal, the normal, and the superior. The normal child needs training in voice or speech improvement, physical action, language, thought, listening, and basic language facility. He suggested that all students should be given the opportunity to listen, to learn, to practice, and to participate.

Betty Cantwell, speaking on the subject "The Elementary Principal Looks at Speech Needs," said that every teacher teaches speech every hour of the day. It is the teacher's responsibility to contact the parents of the children and to impress upon them the speech needs of their children and the level of skill their children possess. It is an obligation of the elementary school to provide a firm foundation of content, and to make the curriculum broad enough so that each child is given an opportunity to express himself. Teachers in the elementary school, she said, need speech teachers to come and help them!

Don Harrington asked the question, What speech training should the classroom teacher have? He developed his answer by reviewing the types of training speech departments offer in the various "special" fields, and then proceeded to outline the philosophy of a speech course for the classroom teacher. His bias toward the correction field was evident, but he carefully explained that he thought the classroom teacher needed more than a beginning speech correction course. She also needs to extract from some of the other special fields those techniques which will help improve the communication skills of all her pupils. In response to a question, Harrington indicated that he thought a course for teachers might well be taught by two different instructors, one representing the correction field and the other, the general speech field.

The highlight of the convention was the Silver Anniversary Banquet held Friday evening in honor of all past presidents, execu-

tive secretaries, and editors of THE SOUTHERN SPEECH JOURNAL. Louise D. Davison presided over this "Glance Into the Past and Advance Into the Future." Nineteen former presidents, nine executive secretaries, and five editors participated in a unique chain-like revelation of interesting events in the Association's history.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9

The Workshops, sponsored by the regional divisions of AETA and ASHA, featured demonstrations as well as pertinent and stimulating discussions at their morning sessions. At Messick High School the AETA program centered in "Children's Theatre," with Dorothy Schwartz, Martha Brush, Elizabeth Rike, and Shelby Counce as the speakers. Following the symposium, the Messick speech department gave an excellent performance of the third act of *Hansel and Gretel*. Freda Kenner directed the production. Sara Spencer led a group of youngsters from the audience in a spontaneous evaluation of the presentation. James E. Popovich was chairman; McDonald Held served as sponsor.

"Public School Speech Correction" was the theme for the ASHA Workshop. Needs at the state and county levels were discussed, and speech and hearing problems in the public schools were cited. The program pattern, in which diagnosis preceded discussion, which in turn was followed by demonstration, paralleled reality and proved highly effective. The logical arrangement and clarity enhanced both the content value and the ease with which the content was received by the audience. The Workshop closed with the ASHA luncheon, over which Ollie Backus presided.

Batsell B. Baxter
Albert L. Capuder
Don Harrington
Sara Ivey
T. Earle Johnson
Edyth Renshaw
William S. Smith
Wofford Smith
Roberta Winter
Laura Wright
Edna West, *Chairman*



Book Reviews

JAMES GOLDEN

COMMUNICATIVE SPEECH. By Robert T. Oliver, Dallas C. Dickey, and Harold P. Zelko. New York: The Dryden Press, 1955; pp. vii + 386. \$3.60.

Professors Oliver, Dickey, and Zelko have revised "about 75 per cent" of their 1949 textbook to create the present work. Some of the more unusual chapters of the book are as follows: "Speech in Twentieth-Century America," which includes a discussion of the significance of speaking to democracy, to our philosophy of education, and to our society; "Effective Listening," which gives "ten basic rules for good listening"; and "Responsibility For Further Growth," which explains the importance of continued development in speech to the student and gives him some suggestions to achieve that development. Chapters on the criteria of good speech, preparation, audience analysis, organization, supporting material, delivery, and those on the types of speeches contain material in the tradition accepted for beginning speech textbooks.

Throughout the book, matters of ethics, reliability of evidence, thoroughness of preparation, and the responsibility of the speaker to himself and to society are recognized. Thus the book not only avoids the cheap appeal to "sell yourself" that is common in some quarters, but counters that appeal somewhat vigorously. At the same time, legitimate relations between the speech and the speaker's personality are recognized and the influence of an effective speaker is made clear.

The book is written so that it should be understandable to the beginning speech student, and its composition is interesting and dignified. The thirty or more plates are apt to add more than pictures usually do to a speech text, partly because of their nature, but more especially because of the interesting focus put on them by the paragraphs underneath.

Personally, I prefer a more thorough treatment of supporting material and the factors of attention than is found in the one twenty-two page chapter on these matters. I feel, also, that organization is more than the selection of main points, deciding upon a stock pattern of organization, and making an outline. I would like to see a more thorough discussion of developing confidence. It may be, also, that there is a more valuable treatment of delivery than the mechanistic one given here. These objections may be applied, however, to many speech textbooks, and perhaps are not felt by all speech teachers. Certainly, *Communicative Speech* is not below current standards and contains not only accepted rhetorical doctrine, but also some worthwhile material not found frequently in books for the beginning course. As such, it merits the attention of the department seeking a new textbook.

OTIS M. WALTER

University of Houston

THE DEVIL'S PRETTY DAUGHTER AND OTHER OZARK FOLK TALES. Collected by Vance Randolph. With Notes by Herbert Halpert. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955; pp. xvi + 239. \$3.75.

Here is a fascinating collection of nearly one hundred of-the-earth-earthy tales which remind us that wisdom is not limited to the conventionally wise. Racy, raucous, and sometimes, in the word of their simple tellers, downright "spooky," these stories would have delighted such a master as Chaucer himself. For the scholar, Dr. Halpert has supplied extensive notes which classify the tales according to the Aarne-Thompson folklore typology, and which point out several parallels in the folklore of the world. But without referring to the notes, the general reader can yet take enormous pleasure in the swift action and clean narrative line, as unpretentious as the hill people themselves.

Yankees, city slickers, the devil, the rich, the ornery, the tyrannical — all take a beating from those who want to eat, drink, and make love in peace. And all is fair in such loving and warring: spells, hexes, transformations, the aid of spirits, but — most basic of all — shrewdness and honest, coarse-grained justice not to be found in the law books.

Lige and Candy Ashcraft murder two thieving Yankees who — well, to indicate the laconic narration and masterly understatement typical of the whole collection, here is the first paragraph of "What Candy Ashcraft Done": "One time there was a man and woman come a-travelling through the country with a good team and a brand-new Springfield wagon. They was Yankees, and both of them loved money. So they got a fine coffin with silver handles and put it in the wagon. Whenever they come to a big house the woman would rub whitening on her face and then lay in the coffin like she was dead." This ruse getting them into various homes, "they would rob the house and maybe kill all the people besides." Candy makes short shrift of them, then lives to a grand and honorable old age. In another tale, with the aid of Aunt Kate's magic "goomer-dust," simpleton Jack and his sweetheart Minnie, who believes that "book learning is all right, but it ain't got nothing to do with picking out a good husband," are able to outwit Minnie's father in a way reminiscent of Chaucer's earthiest tales.

Many inescapable facts of human experience are turned to ironic account. An adolescent boy, trapped under a wagon, calls "Help," first in a high tenor, then in a low bass. The old man who overhears says, "If two men ain't got gumption enough to turn over a wagon-bed, let the damn fools stay where they are at." In "The Woman-Hater's Son," a fourteen year old boy, raised in seclusion by his misogynist father, sees a girl for the first time. The father tells him the girl is a "devil red-hot from Hell." The old man tries to buy the youth guns, ponies, etc., but there's only one thing the boy wants. "Pappy, get me one of them devils red-hot from Hell!" And the moral, which, as so often, goes far beyond the limits of any particular story: "It just goes to show that boys is all alike, no matter where they live at. You can't get away from nature just by hiding out in the woods somewhere."

Through several of the stories there is a vein of tenderness which never becomes sentimental. Whether fact or fancy — and many times the yarns seem spun tongue-in-cheek — the narrators quietly accept the inevitable, without gloss or conjecture. There is the story of Lucy, who brings a traveler to the door of her home, disappears toward the graveyard, and does not return. The parents later tell the guest that their daughter Lucy had died a year ago and was buried in the graveyard nearby. "There ain't a day . . . that my wife don't walk over there an' set by the grave awhile." In another story, two orphans are exposed by their foster-parents. Soon the "big brown

bears come . . . a-snoofing and a-snoofing in the dry leaves." The children try to escape but they are caught and eaten. "So then you couldn't hear nothing but them big bears a-snoofing and a-snoofing in the dry leaves. And that's all there is to the story."

Many of the tales end this way: "And that's all there is to the story." They all begin, "One time there was. . ." The frame is complete; something timeless has been uttered out of the deep experience of a proud people. But as Mr. Randolph suggests in his Introduction, the Ozark people, too, are succumbing to the meretricious attraction of New York comic books, and to the canned humor of radio and TV gagsters. All who prefer the tradition of genuine oral literature and folk humor will be grateful to Mr. Randolph for such a fine collection as *The Devil's Pretty Daughter*.

LESTER M. WOLFSON

Indiana University

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. By Norman Thomas. New York: Hermitage House, 1955; pp. 128. \$2.75.

Prominent speakers seldom take time from their busy careers to record their observations about public speaking. Occasionally they comment in interviews or magazine articles; but rarely do they write books, even small ones, on their practices and theories of speech-making. Pre-eminent exceptions, of course, are Cicero and John Quincy Adams. In the present century the only names in this category that the reviewer recalls are Albert J. Beveridge, Ruth Bryan Owen, and Josh Lee. Norman Thomas' *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Reflections on Public Speaking* is, therefore, a welcome addition to this exceedingly small list. Thomas says that "his reflections" result from fifty years of experience before "all sorts of audiences, on all sorts of occasions, and in a great variety of places."

The book is of interest to the teacher of speech from three points of view. First, Thomas endorses many of the traditional principles discussed at length in textbooks on public speaking. He writes about speech preparation, the use of language, adjustment to the audience and the occasion, the importance of the introduction and the conclusion, speaking from manuscript and memory, and techniques of radio and television speaking. He has also included a valuable chapter on handling angry audiences.

Second, the book gives many of Thomas' philosophical views on the art of public address. His philosophy shines through in such statements as the following:

But public speaking, even for the glibbest of us, is not purely an instinctive pastime but an art to be cultivated by study and practice.

* * *

A speech like Lincoln's Second Inaugural or his Gettysburg address ranks with great poetry or great music as an expression of the spirit of man.

* * *

A good speaker, like the good baseball pitcher, should be capable of change of pace and style of delivery.

* * *

. . . there is no substitute for public speaking in the process of democratic government.

* * *

There is no such thing as a good public speech without audience participation.

* * *

That orator bears a terrible guilt who for any reason throws responsibility to the winds and plays like a demagogue on prejudice and passion.

These quotations illustrate the charm and the epigrammatic quality with which Thomas expresses himself. The book embodies a philosophy which the novice can look to for inspiration and guidance.

Third, the book is significant for the evaluations which Thomas makes concerning speaking and speakers. His attitude is well summarized in the following quotation: "The wonder is that in a country so addicted to meeting-going, the quality of public speaking is so mediocre." He finds the speaking of professors, preachers, and trial lawyers dull and unimaginative. Equally disappointed with campaign oratory, he says, "Great speeches in American history with few exceptions were not campaign speeches." Much like Cicero, he indicates that true eloquence is rare. He comments favorably on the speaking of Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Alben Barkley (for his effective use of humor), Thomas Dewey, and Woodrow Wilson. His favorites of the past include Cicero, Daniel Webster, and Abraham Lincoln.

Norman Thomas has written entertainingly and well about public speaking. The book is excellent.

WALDO W. BRADEN

Louisiana State University

SPEAKING FOR THE MASTER, By Batsell Barrett Baxter. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954; pp. ix + 134. \$2.50.

This is not a book you would choose as a textbook on homiletics, but it is one which you could enthusiastically recommend to preachers and church leaders for use in the men's training classes of local churches. If you should be the teacher of such a class, you would find this little book a helpful guide for an interesting course of study. It is for teachers and students in such classes that Batsell Baxter has prepared it.

This book consists of sixteen short chapters in which the author applies generally accepted principles to the problems of religious speech. The chapter headings are: I. "The Importance of Learning to Speak Well"; II. "Stage Fright and What to Do About It"; III. "Making Announcements"; IV. "Reading the Bible"; V. "Teach Us to Pray"; VI. "The Beginning Talk"; VII. "The Commandments for Effective Speaking"; VIII. "Taking Aim"; IX. "Delivery"; X. "Improving the Voice"; XI. "Earning the Right to Speak"; XII. "Organization and Arrangement"; XIII. "Beginning and Ending the Speech"; XIV. "Persuasion"; XV. "Words"; XVI. "What Next — Preaching?" Lists of activity materials at the end of each chapter propose a training course of one meeting a week for sixteen to eighteen weeks.

Simple mathematics reveals one of the author's principal problems. One hundred and thirty-four pages distributed among sixteen topics allows only limited space for any one of them. The result is especially evident in Chapter X, "Improving the Voice." To allow only six pages for a discussion of how voice is produced, common voice faults, and suggestions for improving the voice is probably to over-simplify one of the more complex aspects of speech instruction. Similarly, Chapter IX is able to touch only lightly the mental,

emotional, and physical elements of speech delivery. And Chapter III is lacking in the specific techniques of effective oral reading. The principles of speech preparation, being developed in several different chapters, are dealt with much more completely.

The book must be evaluated, however, in the light of its intended audience and use. Its acceptance for use in religious training classes requires brevity both from the standpoint of cost and from that of practical use. In this respect, the author, writing from a rich experience as both a teacher of speech and a minister, has done a creditable job of balancing a minimum of theory with a maximum of actual speech activity. The specialist in the field of public speaking may find the book too brief and over-simplified. But it was not written for specialists. It was written for beginning speakers and "amateur" instructors, and for this intended audience it should be instructive and stimulating.

Speaking for the Master is an interesting, readable little volume. It issues a sincere and needed challenge for more effective speech training as a part of the church's activity. If you know a young man who is contemplating becoming a minister, you would do him — and perhaps the church — a favor in suggesting that he read at least the concluding chapter.

FRED J. BARTON

Abilene Christian College

SIX GREEK PLAYS IN MODERN TRANSLATIONS. Edited by Dudley Fitts. New York: The Dryden Press, 1955; pp. viii + 294. \$1.95.

First Edith Hamilton, then Fitts and Fitzgerald have completely revolutionized the translation of Greek plays. There is no longer any excuse for asking students to wade through the older translations. Now there are three projects of publication of new translations. Mr. Fitts' two anthologies easily surpass in quality the completed volumes of both Penguin and the University of Chicago Press. This smaller volume, with a hard cover, the same high quality of translation, and the same beautiful printing as Mr. Fitts' earlier large anthology, is the best bargain of them all.

The heart of the volume is the whole *Oresteia* in the good translation of George Thomson. By itself the *Agamemnon* is merely a good murder play. The whole trilogy, with its broad vision of the emergence of public law and order out of the private vengeance of a primitive epoch, makes a tremendous impression on our age.

At first glance, the choices of *Philoctetes* for Sophocles and *Andromache* for Euripides seem very odd. Yet there is more than the availability of good new translations to argue for such breaking from the stereotyped choices. Perhaps the desperate dilemma of *Philoctetes* is more pertinent to our age than the fate of *Oedipus* or *Antigone*. *Philoctetes* had withdrawn completely from the wicked race of mankind, marked by a loathsome sore that never healed and well protected by a strong bow. Yet he finally chooses to join even the wicked man he had most hated. Sophocles saw clearly the mixed motives of mankind, and yet he could not turn against it. Here is less heroism than in *Antigone*, but perhaps more meaning for today. Euripides' *Andromache*, with its compassion for the old men who try to understand the base treachery and inhuman strife of a guilt-tortured generation ten years after a war, may seem more alive today than the grand vengeance of *Medea* or the stoic pacifism of *Trojan Women*.

The effectiveness of *The Birds* is proved in the several productions that have used the Catholic University version. Those who want a text closer to the original will find here a revised, smoother version than that in the *Complete Greek Drama*.

Many will want to use this volume as a textbook in drama and theatre history. All who are interested in Greek plays will welcome it.

GEORGE KERNODLE

University of Arkansas

ORAL COMMUNICATION IN BUSINESS. By David C. Phillips. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955; pp. ix + 229. \$3.75.

Communication in business and industry continues to grow as a vital and significant concern of business management, and to take its rightful place among the major areas of concern to educators and training directors. Since it has been well established that the most effective communication in a business organization is oral, it is logical that the speech profession should aim some of its efforts in this direction.

There are perhaps two major needs so far as improving oral communication in business is concerned: (1) the training and development of college students in the communication skills they will need when they later take positions in the business world; and (2) the training and development of employees, chiefly supervisory, in the in-service and other types of training programs which are a growing part of industry's own effort to improve the communication skills of its members. The second need includes the need for analysis of communication problems, and suggestions for improving the total communication program of an organization.

Since the current volume attempts to meet both of these major needs, it could be useful either as a college textbook or for reading and instructional purposes in industry itself. The author undertakes a difficult objective in aiming his writing so broadly, but the result is, in large part, successful, even though, to this reviewer, more is accomplished in the direction of the college-oriented student.

In an opening chapter titled, "A Point of View," the author presents an interesting and stimulating analysis of the importance of communication in industry and business, stressing the needs, problems, and also some of the studies that have been made in this area. This chapter, and the later ones on conferences, sales, and the interview are the chief characteristics of the book that place it in the field of business communication rather than make it merely another book on effective speaking.

Chapter II proceeds with an excellent treatment of listener (audience) analysis; and succeeding chapters — through Chapter VII — deal, in turn, with the traditional matters of speech organization, interestingness, proof, visual aids, and delivery. Particularly good are the treatments of the factors of interest and attention, and the types of proof. The latter, however, is somewhat academic in its conventional divisions of ethical, logical, and emotional, with the forms of support being treated under these.

For particular application of oral communication to business, the chapters on conference procedure and leadership are quite good. Conference planning and leading are treated thoroughly, though the discussion of the agenda and conference outline might be sharpened more. Tools such as "cases" and "role-playing" are not discussed. Participation comes in for brief mention, but the leadership of conferences is the dominant emphasis.

The chapter on the sales presentation is also good, and represents a concise, yet fairly complete treatment of this important type of speaking situation. This is followed by a brief chapter on the interview, which might have been given more space since this is an exceedingly important communication medium in business and industry. It would also have been well to bring these two chapters closer together, showing the use of interview steps as techniques in selling.

Chapters on occasional speaking, radio and television speaking, and conducting a meeting (parliamentary procedure) round out the treatment of other kinds of "oral communication in business." Although these are good chapters, particularly the one on radio and television speaking which well shows the author's professional stature in this field, they are of less value in the business communication situation. Their presence in the book contributes to the conclusion of the reviewer that the author has in mind developing the communicative skills of business leaders who have to represent the company in a variety of speaking situations, rather than developing the total skills necessary for a good communications system throughout and *within* the organizational structure.

Projects and speeches for study and practice at the end of each chapter seem quite practical and point up well the objectives of the chapter. There is also a brief listing of selected readings. Both of these strike a good balance between the academic and the practical, and will be useful to many readers.

Finally, there is a fresh and lively style to this book which will make it interesting reading for all aspects of practical speech development. It is, indeed, an important and valuable contribution to the speech profession and to the industrial relations and training profession in business and industry.

HAROLD P. ZELKO

The Pennsylvania State University

DISCUSSION AND CONFERENCE. By William M. Sattler and N. Edd Miller.
New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., pp. xi + 353. \$4.75.

The eighteen chapters which comprise this new volume are grouped into six major divisions: "Fundamentals"; "Problem-Solving"; "Leadership"; "Participation"; "Speech and Language"; and "Public Meetings." Within each group, the material is developed, for the most part, in a logical and unified manner. The content is strengthened and supported by extensive recourse to pertinent knowledge from other fields. In addition, experimental findings from psychology, group dynamics, and speech are included at appropriate places. A selected bibliography in the Appendix directs the reader to valuable supplementary readings.

Two unique chapters deserve special comment. Chapter VI, "How We Solve Problems," discusses six influences that consciously or sub-consciously affect the choice of a particular solution to a problem. These six influences — intuition, initial choice, authority, tradition, emotion, and personal experience — are explained in specific and concrete terms, and will, undoubtedly, evoke much interest on the part of the student. After reading this chapter, students should be more sensitive to the familiar, invalid methods in which both common everyday problems and complex problems of the world are often solved. Reflective thinking, named as a seventh influence in solving problems, is rightfully given an entire chapter for a comprehensive development. Chapter XIV, "Contributions and Role Patterns," classifies participants' contributions

under three headings — problem-centered, procedure-centered, and participant-centered — and distinguishes the types of behavior that participants knowingly or unknowingly assume into eight desirable and fifteen undesirable "role patterns." As the reader learns to perceive himself and others in these desirable and undesirable roles, he should be encouraged to develop and assume desirable modes of behavior and avoid the undesirable ones.

Three main weaknesses, however, are apparent in this book. First, practical and worthwhile exercises are located in a special section in the Appendix. It would seem advantageous, from the point of view of both teacher and student, to have these exercises in a more accessible location at the end of each chapter. Second, Chapter IV, "Types of Discussion," offers a confusing classification of the types of discussion. Discussion is classified according to degree of formality, purpose, tradition, procedure and physical arrangements, and purpose. It appears that the first classification by "purpose" is only a brief introductory statement of the more detailed explanation of the category "purpose" given within the body of the chapter. The value of the material would be enhanced if this were made clear. The third major weakness, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the failure to mention such things as "feedback" and "hidden agenda." Although "role-playing" is suggested as a means of beginning a discussion, its more important value as a means of resolving conflict is relegated to a brief footnote (p. 172). Since the authors demonstrate a wide knowledge of the literature on discussion and are doubtless aware of the terms, one wonders why they fail to discuss these techniques that have been shown to have such great practical value.

Despite these shortcomings, Professors Sattler and Miller have produced a well-written textbook that all students of discussion would do well to examine. Although it is devoid of attention-getting pictures, the ideas, based on sound philosophical principles, are developed with material of high interest value that seems certain to win the approval of college students.

ADELBERT BRADLEY

University of Richmond

ESSENTIALS OF DISCUSSION AND DEBATE. By Halbert E. Gulley. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955; pp. vii + 145. \$1.50.

If there is a need for new textbooks at all in the area of general speech, it is on the high school level. There are but few good ones in existence, and even fewer in the specific area of discussion and debate.

Mr. Halbert Gulley has just published a book in discussion and debate that is surely among the better ones adaptable to a high school course. Gulley writes that his book is directed at both the high school and the college student, either as a classroom text or as a source work for those engaged in discussion and debate as extracurricular activities. Indeed, for students who participate in these activities without the advantage of an academic course in the area — and they number few, we hope — the *Essentials of Discussion and Debate* is particularly useful.

Gulley has achieved his purpose of enhancing "the value of participation as a meaningful contribution to democratic decision-making" in the publication of his book. It stresses the values of the freedom to inquire, to express reasoned convictions, and to choose among alternatives. The author indicates the method by dividing his work into three major sections. The first includes information that is fundamental to the understanding of any type of respon-

sible speaking. Chapters on "Definitions and Relationships," "Questions and Propositions," "Finding the Facts and Inference," "Reason and Support" are included in this part of the book. In the second group of chapters the author discusses the peculiarities of discussional types, as well as preparing for, participating in, leading, and evaluating discussion. Methods of participating in debate are treated in the third section.

It is significant to note that the bulk of the 145 pages is given over to the logical aspects of both activities. Thirty-one pages—well over a fifth of the entire book—are used to impress upon the reader the importance of the use of facts, inference, reason, and supporting material.

Well chosen exercises are offered at the conclusion of each chapter. If there is a failing in this book, it is in the absence of any form of bibliography or footnotes, devices that sometimes lead readers to further investigation. Such exclusion is doubtless attributable to the author's wish that the volume be a short and inexpensive one.

The Essentials of Discussion and Debate is based on sound, traditional philosophy. It is an abbreviated, readable, and inexpensive volume—one that is easily adaptable to a high school course in discussion and debate, or English course which includes a unit in this area. It could well serve as a valuable source for those who participate in extracurricular debate or discussion programs. The reviewer highly recommends Gulley's book for these purposes.

ROBERT JEFFREY

University of Virginia

CLEVER INTRODUCTIONS FOR CHAIRMEN. Compiled by Lawrence M. Brings. Minneapolis: T. S. Denison and Company, 1954; pp. 416. \$4.50.

This 416-page volume is largely a compilation of short speeches which introduce a speaker to a group. These speeches of introduction have been contributed by "experienced chairmen who have used them in actual situations." They tend rather uniformly to introduce by way of a humorous story which touches directly or indirectly upon the speaker's vocation.

The table of contents helpfully provides the chairman with an alphabetized list of occupations. If he needs to introduce a "chemist," for example, he will find that profession listed. Along with the listing will be a reference to the page upon which may be found an introduction for a person of that vocation. Some two hundred vocations are catalogued, and from one to eight speeches of introduction provided for each. The largest number supplied are for the salesman (8), and the next largest for the doctor (7). Following in quantity are introductions for the minister (5), the banker (4), the business man (4), and the world traveler (4).

Section One, comprising thirty-two pages, is devoted to a series of suggestions for chairmen. It contains brief elaborations of recommendations like "Never embarrass the speaker" and "Don't have too much to say." Some of this material has been contributed by writers other than the compiler. In general, it provides the chairman with sound, basic, practical, non-theoretical advice.

Section Three of the volume is devoted to "bright bits," a varied assortment of stories and anecdotes. Each of these is headed with a title that gives the reader some hint as to its point. In many instances the title is followed by a sentence explaining when the story may be used appropriately.

Undoubtedly, the occasional chairman will find the book helpful. In using

it, however, he must remember to consider the speaker, the audience, and the occasion, and to select and adapt his material with these factors, as well as his own capabilities, in mind. The chairman also should remember that this volume tends to concentrate on the humorous story and to ignore other sources of material that can provide inspiration for speeches of introduction—the occasion, the speaker's qualifications or experience or career, the speaker's subject, immediate circumstances, and the audience.

Because the speeches stress humor, they give the impression that the best way to establish a bond between speaker and audience is to use material of this nature. This, of course, is not necessarily true. Neither is the impression that a light-hearted and frivolous atmosphere is the best "setting" to establish for any subject on any subject on any occasion.

The proportion of stories in this volume that are really good will compare favorably with any similar compilation. Not all of them are artfully constructed pieces that center upon some curious or unexpected likeness or relationship. Not all of them are laughter-provoking bits that connect dissimilar things in some causal or analogical or spatial relationship. Not all of them display sharp flashes of wit. But many of them, if adapted and properly presented, will not only bring appreciative chuckles from most audiences but serve the purpose of the chairman very well.

CLARENCE W. EDNEY

Florida State University

READING ALOUD EFFECTIVELY. By Ben Graf Henneke. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1954; pp. 481. \$5.00.

This new volume, unlike many older textbooks, is student-, not subject-centered. Furthermore, the study of oral interpretation is approached from the standpoint of the student who has chosen an elective but is not sure why. To answer the usual what-good-will-this-do-me challenge, the author discusses skilfully in the opening chapter the use for and the values of oral reading. Although the aesthetic values are subordinated to the commercial, most students will be pleased.

The book follows the usual pattern of general introduction, a section on preparation, one on practices and standards of performance, and an anthology of selections. Generally, the exposition is lucid and interesting, although its organization might, perhaps, be improved. Frequently, topics are not discussed in the order enumerated; sometimes topics are mentioned and not discussed. Students might have difficulty making clear study outlines of the textbook. At times the author's informality becomes carelessness. There are too many fragmentary sentences and too many remarks which seem directed to the author's own students.

One aspect of the book is especially praiseworthy. The examples and illustrations are exceptionally well chosen. They are unhackneyed and appropriate. They range from the ancient to the contemporary, and from the serious to the delightfully nonsensical. Some examples are radio commercials; some are bits of verse plays. Many types of discourses and forms of literature are represented. Such variety is certain to stimulate students' interests.

The anthology of practice material is also well selected. Again the author has shown his taste, his understanding of students, and his familiarity with literature by the range and freshness of his choices. The book is made more useful by the classified list annotating selections according to type of material.

The same list, however, provides a bewildering annotation according to "type of selection." The classifying terms are as unlike as "exposition," "entertainment," "commas," "stress by loudness," and "images." Such inconsistency, however, is only a minor flaw. In general, the listing makes a useful supplement to the index.

Reading Aloud Effectively could not be used as a textbook in a course for which Charlotte Lee's *Oral Interpretation* would be appropriate. For less advanced classes, however, or for classes less interested in literary style, prosody, or polished, artistic oral interpretation the new book might well be adopted. Certainly it is a welcome addition to any library on oral reading.

EDYTH RENSHAW

Southern Methodist University

AN INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL AMERICAN PHONETICS. Edited by Charles G. Van Riper and Dorothy Edna Smith. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954; pp. vi + 152. \$2.50.

Here is a unique text-workbook in phonetics which should prove useful for a beginning course where the goal is skill in transcription. While not entirely short on theory, it is long on practice.

This is a paper-covered book, 8½" x 11" in size, with pages perforated and punched for loose-leaf notebooks. The material is organized into some nine chapters, but is actually presented in two hundred and seventy-one exercises, and a limited amount of pre-exercise explanation. Chapter I is a brief four-page introduction, entitled "Why Use Phonetics?" Chapter II, "Mastering Phonetics," introduces the phonetic alphabet, and then emphasizes a group of consonants, letters and symbols, which are usually alike in both alphabets (b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, z). Chapters III, IV, and V are concerned with vowels, while Chapter VI presents "The Strange Consonant Symbols." The last three chapters contain exercises in principles and problems.

An unusual feature of the book is the use of transcribed words in the text from the beginning of Chapter II. Most of these are easily pronounced from sight, and hence ease the transition into reading phonetic script.

The authors have followed the phonetic usage of Kenyon and Knott's *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, and have dealt with the General American regional dialect almost exclusively. The book would therefore have a rather limited use in the South and in the East except as a reference. As such, this reviewer has already found it useful in his course in phonetics.

T. EARLE JOHNSON

University of Alabama



NEWS AND NOTES

FRANKLIN R. SHIRLEY

SPEECH THERAPY AND CLINICS

Sara Stinchfield Hawk of Glendale, California, was on the staff of the Davison School of Speech Correction during the past summer. Dr. Hawk gave lectures to teachers on the moto-kinaesthetic method of speech therapy and also worked in the testing program.

The Speech and Hearing Center at Alabama State Teachers College is in its fourth year of operation as a self-supporting unit. It offers speech and hearing services to both children and adults in Colbert and Lauderdale counties. Edward E. Matis is director of the Center.

STATE ASSOCIATIONS

The annual convention of the Louisiana Speech Association was held in Alexandria, November 21-22. Officers of the Association are Roy Murphey, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, president; Joanne White, Bolton High School, first vice-president; Minnie H. Berry, Abbeville High School, second vice-president; and Edna West, Northwestern State College, executive secretary.

The annual fall meeting of the Florida Speech Association was held on the campus of the University of Florida, October 28-29. Margaret Perritt, as first vice-president of the Association, was in charge of the program.

DEPARTMENTS

The speech department at Georgetown College has been increased to four members in order to be able to provide speech training for all students who are inadequate in oral communication.

Twenty-two students from thirteen countries attended the second annual English Language Institute administered by the department of speech at the University of Florida, July 5 to September 2. Intensive instruction in written and spoken English was given under the direction of H. Hardy Perritt. Additional staff members of the Institute were Jayne Harder, Earl Howell, and Theo Atchley. Most of the students who attended plan to spend one or more years at the University of Florida or some other college in the United States before returning to their native lands.

A total of eight graduate degrees in speech were awarded at the University of Florida last August. Receiving doctor's degrees were Edward Pen-son, William Lewis, and Father Lawrence J. Flynn. Master's degrees were awarded to Kevin Kearney, Flora Armbruster, Teresa Mulchern, Earl Howell, and Eunice Carter.

The first speech course open only to graduate students, to be offered by the new graduate school of Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, was Stage Direction in the Educational Theatre. The course was taught by Edna West during the 1955 summer session. Speech Problems in the Classroom, a course open to both undergraduates and graduates, was taught by Irma Stockwell during the same session.

The speech division of Alabama Polytechnic Institute conducted a short course in speech during the annual meeting of the Alabama Farm Bureau. The course, which included two hours of lectures and two hours of practice speeches, was directed by William S. Smith, assisted by Messrs. Green, Harrington, and Hess.

Kentucky Wesleyan College is now offering a major in speech and drama. The work in public speaking is under the direction of Jane Brewer Forgy, and Walter Lazenby, Jr. teaches the courses in dramatics.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

The television studios of the Alabama educational network located on the campus of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, have been completed and are occupied. The telecast of programs originating on the campus was begun early last fall. Edward Wegner, director of educational television, is in charge.

THEATRE

The dramatics section of the second annual Summer High School Institute at Florida State University produced two one-act plays, with Lynn Orr and Paul Davee in charge, and Charles Reimer and Elizabeth Thompson assisting.

The department of speech at the University of Alabama and the Alabama Extension Center in Montgomery, jointly sponsored a workshop in children's theatre on August 23-24. Dr. Kenneth Graham of the University of Minnesota was the principal conference leader, with Dorothy Schwartz of Birmingham, and Marian Gallaway and T. Earle Johnson of the University of Alabama, serving as the other workshop leaders. Approximately 150 persons from various sections of Alabama attended.

Rena Calhoun, head of the speech department at Georgetown College and former director of the Maskrafters, the dramatics group of the college, is again directing the group while Orlin R. Corey, the regular director, is on leave to study in England.

During the current school year St. Petersburg Junior College will present a series of mental health plays, called *Ins and Outs*, as a civic project.

The summer productions for Murray State College's fourth season at Kentucky Dam Village State Park Theatre were *My Three Angels*, *The Miser*, *Papa Is All*, and *Laura*.

The summer theatre workshop at Northwestern Louisiana State College closed its nine-week season with John Patrick's *Lo and Behold*. Other productions of the workshop and college theatre were *Ladies in Retirement*, *Right You Are! (If You Think You Are)*, *Rebecca*, and *Ring Round the Moon*.

PLAY SCHEDULES. St. Petersburg Junior College: *24 Carat Customer* (a play to be given as part of the training program at the state grocer's convention); *Huckleberry Finn* (annual children's play). Wake Forest College: *The Rainmaker*, *Another Part of the Forest*, *The Merchant of Venice*. Furman University: *The Little Foxes*, *What Every Woman Knows*, *Much Ado About Nothing*. Northwestern Louisiana State College: *Born Yesterday*.

FORENSICS

During the 1954-55 season Murray State College debaters spoke before audiences totaling 10,510 persons. The year began with a non-decision debate with Oxford and ended with a 3-0 win over Harvard.

Forty students from five states enrolled in the second annual Summer High School Speech Institute at the Florida State University in Tallahassee. A four-round debate tournament ended the forensics section, which also included instruction and competition in oratory, extemporaneous speaking, and after-dinner speaking. Thomas R. Lewis, Wayne C. Minnick, and Gregg Phifer conducted the forensics work.

The Dade County, Florida, High School Forensics Schedule for 1955-56 is as follows:

September 17—NFL Congress. Edison.
 October 1—NFL Congress. Edison.
 October 8—NFL Congress. Edison.
 October 14-15—District Congress. Tampa.
 November 4-5—State NFL Congress. Tallahassee.
 November 7-11—Debate Institute. University of Miami.
 November 18-19—Discussion Tournament. University of Florida.
 December 9—Varsity Debate. Coral Gables.
 January 18 or 20—Tenth Grade Debate Tournament. Miami Beach.
 February 10—Varsity Debate. Miami Senior.
 February 17-18—Florida District Tournament. University of Miami.
 February 24—Speech Contest. Tech.
 March 2-3—Florida State Tournament. University of Florida.
 March 16-17—NFL State Tournament. Jackson.
 April 3-7—Southern Speech Tournament and Congress. Hattiesburg, Miss.
 April 21—NFL Congress. Jackson.
 May 9—Tenth Grade Tournament. North Miami.
 May 26—NFL Congress. Jackson.

The Debate Council at Alabama Polytechnic Institute entertained the Cambridge International Debaters, Thursday, December 1. The national question was the topic for debate.

Miami Senior High School debaters won first place in the national NFL tournament held in California early last summer. Jessie Chamberlin is director of forensics at Miami Senior.

Six Miami Jackson students won honors in debate, extempore speaking, oratory, and after-dinner speaking at the High School Speech Institute held at Florida State University last summer.

A summer forensics workshop was again held on the campus of Wake Forest College, with students from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida attending. Franklin R. Shirley directed the five-day meeting which included formal class periods, extensive research in the library, and debates on the national high school topic. Extemporaneous and after-dinner speaking contests were also held.

PERSONALS

Thomas R. Lewis and Gregg Phifer of Florida State University, attended the summer conference of the National Society for the Study of Communication at Michigan State University. Dr. Lewis presented a research report on the relationship between intelligence and listening.

C. Raymond Van Dusen, Arno Hill, and Eugene E. White served as judges for the public speaking and debating contest of the National American Institute of Banking held in Miami last spring.

Delwin B. Dusenbury, formerly of the University of Florida, is now teaching radio and television in the department of journalism at Temple University.

Charles A. McGlon, professor of speech at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was narrator for the Atlanta Baptist Association Choir during its recent four-week concert tour of army camps and mission stations in Europe. This group, composed of eighty-six outstanding musicians, visited seven countries and gave nineteen hour-long concerts before it appeared as the official American choir at the Baptist World Alliance in London, July 16-22.

David B. Strother is on leave from the University of Georgia to work toward the Ph.D. degree in public address.

Lois Brien, formerly instructor in speech at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, is working on her doctor's degree at Northwestern University.

Arlene Amend, a former debater for Miami Jackson High School and Florida State University, has been elected president of the Dade County, Florida, Speech Association.

Clyde McElroy, a member of the speech staff at Wake Forest College, was enrolled during the past summer in the speech department at the University of Virginia, where he is working toward the doctorate. He also had a role in the University's production of *Sabrina Fair*.

A recent publication, *Leaders in Georgia*, includes a biographical sketch of Louise D. Davison, director of the Davison School of Speech Correction, Atlanta, and immediate past-president of SSA.

James E. Popovich, assistant professor of speech at the University of Georgia, received his Ph.D. degree in August from Northwestern University.

Frank B. Davis, chairman of the speech department at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, spent the summer in Denver where he was connected with the advertising department of the Englewood, Colorado, *Press*.

Sara Lowrey was guest reader for the University of Michigan Speech Conference, July 14-15. She also read at Wayne University, July 18.

Philip G. Curry has resigned from the speech department of the University of Alabama to enter business in Miami.

Leona Scott, director of speech at Arkansas State Teachers College, spent the summer in study at the University of Miami.

Charles A. McGlon taught choral speaking and speech for religious workers at the music clinic conducted in Atlanta by the Georgia Baptist State Convention, August 15-19.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Mrs. Dorothy Bell is a new full-time staff member at Texas Christian University this year. She is directing the speech and hearing clinic.

Laura F. Wright came to Alabama College last fall as head of the speech department, a position held by Ellen Gould until her death in December, 1953. Dr. Wright came to Alabama College from the University of North Dakota where she had directed the speech and hearing clinic.

Philip N. Hood, director of speech correction at the Bill Wilkerson Center in Nashville, and assistant professor of speech pathology in the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine, resigned recently to accept a position as director of the new Dallas Hearing and Speech Center.

James Costy has been appointed head of the Radio-TV Division at Texas Christian University. He formerly taught at the University of Miami, and holds a doctorate from Denver University.

Mrs. McCalyne Watkins Fristoe has recently been employed as speech therapist at the Bill Wilkerson Center.

Robert F. Marsden has joined the speech faculty at the University of Mississippi as instructor in speech and technical director for the theatre wing. Mr. Marsden is a graduate of Milliken University and holds the M. F. A. degree from Ohio University.

Thomas Markes, speech therapist at the Bill Wilkerson Center, recently resigned to begin a doctoral program in clinical psychology at the Vanderbilt graduate school.

Beverly Primeaux, Kaplan, Louisiana, is a graduate fellow in speech at the University of Mississippi.

Patricia Cook, a graduate of the University of Texas, is a new instructor in speech at Sam Houston State Teachers College.

Mrs. E. Wolfe, who has been in charge of the work in radio at East High School, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, became a member of the faculty at Charlotte Central High School this year.

Elizabeth Beliles, Tupelo, Mississippi, is a teaching assistant in speech at the University of Mississippi.

Paul Neal, who taught public speaking at Belmont, North Carolina, has become a member of the faculty of Lees-McRae College, Banner Elk, North Carolina.

Earnest Payne, Searcy, Arkansas, is a graduate assistant in debate at the University of Mississippi this year.

Audrey Eichelberger and Erleen Marquodt have been added to the Queens College Speech Department, Charlotte, North Carolina, this year.

New assistants at the University of Florida include Herman Middleton and Barbara Bender in theatre, Richard Hutto in speech correction, and William Reynolds in forensics.

John Richard Landress, formerly a student at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, has accepted a position in the department of speech at Bethel College, Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

Lee Paul, who studied toward his doctor's degree at the University of Florida last year, is now instructor in speech and head of the speech clinic at Dartmouth College.

Jane Beasley, assistant professor of speech at the University of Alabama, has resigned after a leave of absence of two years, to accept a position at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Georgia Trakas of Ohio University and Jean Hirsch of the Central Institute for the Deaf, have joined the staff of the Davison School of Speech Correction.

Edwin W. Martin and Frances Beckelheimer have been appointed instructors, with major duties in the speech clinic, at the University of Alabama.

Additions to the speech faculty at the University of Miami are Jack Benson, former head of the speech department at Dana College, and Frazier D. White of Northwestern University.

Sara Lowrey is now serving as chairman of the speech department at Furman University.

Thomas L. Tedford, who has been working on his doctor's degree at Louisiana State University, has replaced Bill Cowley as director of forensics at Georgetown College. Mr. Cowley has been appointed a missionary to Africa for the Southern Baptist Convention. Other appointments to the Georgetown College staff are Bill Dean Parsons, technical director of the Maskrafters and teacher of drama appreciation and speech fundamentals; and James L. Enmons, a graduate student last year at Baylor University, who will conduct radio classes and assist with the work in interpretation.

Charles E. Porterfield, formerly of the University Center in Montgomery, has been appointed assistant professor of speech at the University of Alabama. In addition to his course work, Mr. Porterfield will direct the high school forensics program.

The following additions have been made to the Department of Speech, Radio, Television, and Drama at the University of Houston: Ed Pincoffs, who is finishing his Ph.D. degree at Cornell, assistant professor of speech; Robert Olian, M. A., Northwestern, instructor and associate director of forensics; Joseph Coffey, who is completing his Ph.D. degree at the University of Utah, instructor and staff director; and Frank Bock, M. A., Denver, instructor and technical director.

C. A. Parker has resigned from Alabama Polytechnic Institute to enroll in the graduate school at Louisiana State University. Mr. Parker plans to spend the next two years working on his Ph.D. degree while teaching part time.

Donald H. Ecroyd, associate professor of speech at the University of Alabama, has been granted a leave of absence from teaching and other major departmental responsibilities to work in the president's office as associate director of the University's self-study and planning program. He will work with various University committees which are conducting the self-study program, now in its second year. The University has received a grant of \$150,000 from the Carnegie Foundation for work in this area.

Jack Porter, who has been teaching at Armstrong Junior College in Savannah, has accepted a position as assistant professor of speech at Furman University.

Edward Penson has been appointed assistant professor of speech at Ohio University where he will work in the field of speech correction and audiology.

Gene A. Wilson, technical director of the University of Alabama theatre, has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor. He holds the M.F.A. degree from Yale.

McDonald Held, who received his Ph.D. degree from Northwestern in June, has resigned as head of the speech department at Furman University to accept a position with Howard Payne University in Brownwood, Texas.

Don Harrington was acting chairman of the speech department at Alabama Polytechnic Institute last summer in the absence of Frank Davis.

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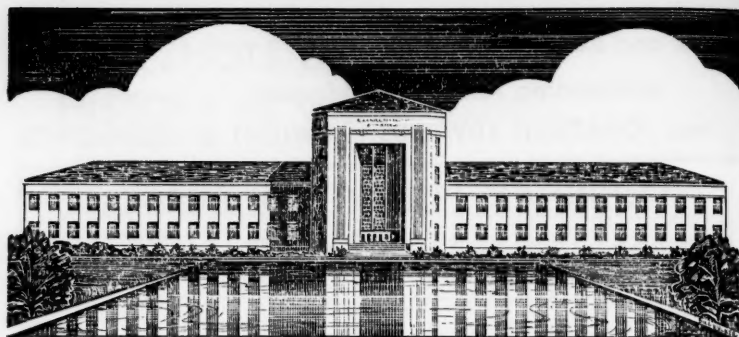
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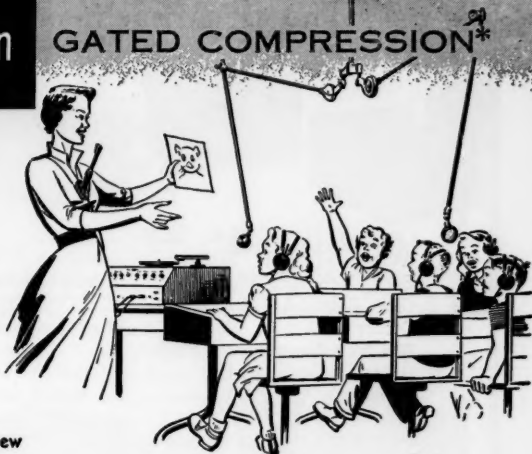
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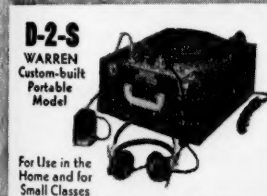
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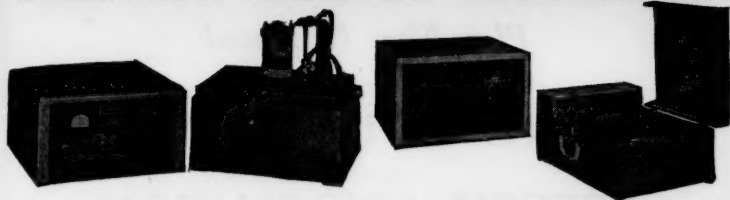


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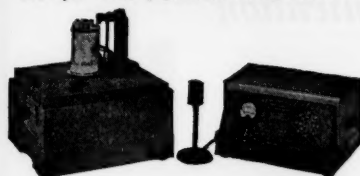
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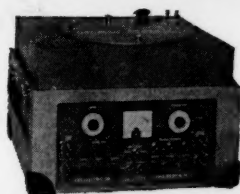
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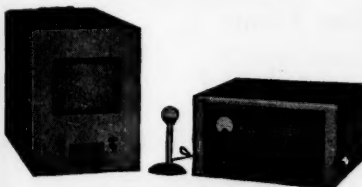
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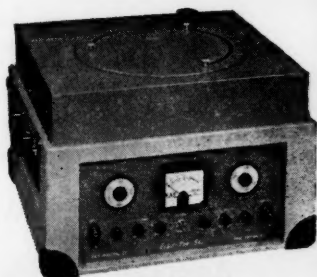
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School of Speech

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